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THE PRESENT STATUS OF AFGHANISTAN.

Afghanistan, standing, as she does, between Russian territory, on the one side, and the British Empire of India, on the other, enjoys a unique political significance in these days. Articles appear almost daily in newspapers and magazines, and bulky volumes are written, telling either at first- or at second-hand all that can be gleaned of this so-called "Buffer State." Much of this information is somewhat contradictory and misleading, for the reason that writers unacquainted with the language, and having made perhaps a hurried journey only through the country or a small part of it, are liable to form erroneous impressions.

If this be the case as regards the country of Afghanistan and its people, travellers and writers, unless they enjoy special privileges, are still more likely to make mistakes in summing up the remarkable man who rules over all. It is difficult even for officials who are constantly in his presence to comprehend all the Amir's plans, and fathom the motives that underlie his actions. A man who can succeed in baffling the most eminent statesmen of Russia and England is not an easy subject for the journalistic pen. It is, therefore, with considerable diffidence that I undertake the task of giving, in a language foreign to me, a brief summary of some of the most important changes brought about by Amir Abdur Rahman—changes which have made Afghanistan what she is to-day.

Though, for about a century, Afghanistan has been considered by

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statesmen a country of very great political importance, her political condition is of far greater interest to-day than it was in the past. We see that from the year 1816, when Shah Shujah, at that time king of Afghanistan, fell a prisoner into the hands of the East India Company, the British Government has had a difficult task in considering the policy to follow in regard to Afghanistan; and there is still a division of opinion. Full details of past conditions and of the relations between England, Russia, and Afghanistan may be found in historical works. I shall here speak chiefly of Afghanistan as we find it to-day.

Up to the time of the present Amir, Afghanistan had no definitely marked boundaries; hence, Russia kept on approaching toward her, day by day, on the one side, while England did the same on the other. Persia also, in the days of her prosperity, tried to take a share out of this "land without a fence." The first matter, therefore, that Amir Abdur Rahman took into consideration was these everlasting encroachments on the "unclaimed" lands of Afghanistan (Yaghistan, or Land of the Unruly) by her neighbors. I remember the wise words of the Amir when I wrote some years ago a small pamphlet advocating the introduction of certain reforms in commerce, education, etc. In commenting upon it he said it was necessary for a house to have walls before putting in the furniture and the curtains; otherwise burglars would take the things away. For Afghanistan, therefore, the defining of boundaries was needed before minute details of internal affairs could be taken in hand. In the course of several years, the Amir, conjointly with the other Powers, marked out the boundary lines between his dominions and those of other Powers, any advance over which by his neighbors would now be a violation of definite treaties. Hence, Afghanistan to-day is a country with well-defined boundaries. This is a very different state of affairs from that which existed before the Amir's reign, when Afghanistan was the vague name of a state, and when it was doubtful as to which provinces really belonged to the ruler of Afghanistan and which of them were the rightful property of the "first occupier" among neighboring Powers.

Afghanistan was not only an open field for the land-grabbing propensities of her foreign neighbors, but every Afghan chief looked upon himself as an independent ruler. For instance, the country of the Hazarahs had not been under a ruler of Kabul for the past four centuries; the country of Kafiristan had never been under

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a ruler of Afghanistan from time immemorial. The only trace that we find of a ruler trying to conquer Kafiristan is a marble stone, discovered in 1895, at a place called Kulohum, at the entrance to one of the Kafiristan valleys, on which these words are engraved: "The great Emperor Tamerlane tried to invade Kafiristan, but could not proceed any further than this spot." Captain Mohammed Ali, an official of the Amir, engraved on the same stone words to the effect that in the reign of Amir Abdur Rahman the whole country of Kafiristan was conquered and subdued, a project which the great Emperor Tamerlane had failed to carry to a successful issue.

In like manner, out of a state of anarchy and tribal chieftaincy somewhat resembling that of Scotland in the early ages, the Amir has lifted the country into a strong, consolidated kingdom, in which, from one end to the other, his word is law; and his are the only commands which must be obeyed. The Amir has trebled the size and importance of the kingdom into which he entered in July, 1880, by the successive annexation of Herat, which was under Ayub, son of the late Amir Shere Ali; Kandahar, which was placed under Sirdar Shere Ali, Wali of Kandahar, by the British; Hazarah Jat and Kafiristan, as mentioned above, and other provinces which for many years had held aloof from the rulers of Kabul. These extensive dominions the Amir has succeeded in reducing to a condition of peaceful order previously unknown in the history of Afghanistan; and he has established throughout the land a uniform administration of government marked by the introduction of many reforms.

Afghanistan is acknowledged by her foreign neighbors to be an independent government; and no other nation has any right to interfere in the administration of justice, in legislation, or in any other internal policy of the Amir. The government of Afghanistan owes no national debt or war indemnity to any nation in the world; hence no one can say to the ruler of Afghanistan that he must pay his debts or war indemnities before being allowed to buy or make war materials, or to undertake any military preparations whatsoever.

The Amir of Afghanistan, unlike some Islamic rulers, is not under the domination of the Concert of Europe; he is not hampered by any entanglements with foreign Powers; he has no foreign Ambassadors to threaten him or to intrigue between him and his subjects; and no Power on earth has any right, either by international law or treaties, to force the Amir to make concessions for the formation of railways, etc. The relations between Afghanistan and the British Empire in

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India, as fixed by treaties to-day, can be briefly summarized as follows: The British Government acknowledges Afghanistan to be an independent kingdom; she herself having no right to interfere with the internal policy of the latter. Great Britain undertakes the safety, integrity, and independence of Afghanistan against unprovoked aggression on the part of any foreign Power, so long as the Amir does not act against the advice of the British Government in matters affecting diplomatic relations with other Powers. Great Britain pays the Amir 18 lakhs of rupees as an annual subsidy, by virtue of Sir Mortimer Durand's treaty of 1893 with the Amir; and in addition she helps Afghanistan by presenting her with war materials, from time to time. She allows the Amir to have his political agent and representative at the court of the Viceroy of India; and the Amir is entitled to import all kinds of goods, including war materials, into the country.

In return for these pledges given by the British Empire in India, the Amir's obligations are the following: He is bound by his word and by treaties to be a true friend and ally to the Indian Empire; he pledges himself not to communicate with any foreign Power without first consulting with the Indian Government; he must also have a British agent at Kabul. This British agent, however, must always be a Mohammedan, a subject of the Indian Government; and no member of his staff is to be an European. Besides his political agent, who represents him at the Court of the Viceroy, the Amir has several private commercial agents in India and in England. There is no extradition treaty between Afghanistan and other nations. Hence, an offender is never given up to his own country against his will.

There is much controversy on the point of British help being afforded to the Amir against unprovoked foreign aggression. Some British politicians say: "We are the sole judges as to what extent, and the manner in which, we should give such assistance to the ruler of Afghanistan in the case of Russian or any other aggression." Others say: "We are bound by our word and pledges to give the Amir every assistance necessary to prevent an unprovoked foreign invader from entering his territories."

There is another point on which some of the greatest statesmen are puzzled; namely, the Amir's objection to the introduction of railways. They say: "If the Amir does not take our advice and construct a railway from Kandahar to Herat, it will be well-nigh impossible to send an army from the Indian frontier to Herat—a dis-

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tance of nearly 400 miles—to meet a Russian advancing force having a distance of about 60 miles only to traverse to Herat."

I may here mention that the Amir's idea of such assistance is based on the belief that "a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush." He wishes to get as much money and war material from England as possible before the time of a Russian attack on his dominions. In the first place, he is a little doubtful as to the amount of help he would get at such a time! In the second place, he says that he does not require an army to help him. He rules over a large population of his own subjects, who are born warriors; and all that is required to turn them into a strong and powerful army, able to face any foreign aggressor, is to supply them with modern weapons, and to lay up money, stores, and provisions, for the time of emergency, whenever it should arise. Any weakness or neglect of precautionary measures, therefore, would most surely reflect upon Great Britain's Indian possessions. I assert, in the words of the Amir himself, that he wishes his own troops only to defend his country; and he would no more like an English army to enter Afghanistan under any pretence of assistance than he would welcome one from Russia.

The Amir once said to an Englishman, who was discussing the subject of Russian aggression with him, that in 1885, when Russia took Penjdeh, the British Government did not force Russia to evacuate that town, which belonged to him. The English gentleman replied:

"That was because the Liberal Party of Mr. Gladstone was in power at that time."

To this the Amir answered, humorously:

"How am I to know, when the next trouble arises between Russia and Afghanistan, whether there will be a Liberal Party in power again? Moreover, if a Conservative Party were in power, the policy it would follow is yet to be seen."

Of course, it is possible that a time will come when the Amir will request the army of one of the neighboring Powers to enter his dominions for the purpose of expelling the other; but this would be at such a moment when, after having put every available fighting man into the field, he would find his country wrested from his grasp and his own forces decisively defeated. In such an event, the Amir would preferably invite that one of his neighboring Powers against whom he had no particular grudge, and give up the country to that Power with his own hands rather than, as he says, to the one who had fought and defeated him in the field.

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The Amir is quite alive to the fact that England does not want to go any farther north; while, on the other hand, Russia is bound to be aggressive, and finds Afghanistan rather in her way. He often says that the policy of all Oriental governments, as well as that of India, is to keep out of the way of Russia; the policy of Russia being to take only that piece of a country where she finds the people are keeping out of the way. Furthermore, when Russia occupies the new province she at once declares peace; but these promises of peace last only till the newly occupied place is strongly fortified and ready to send reinforcements to the next place Russia wishes to annex, with or without treaties. The Amir thinks that his is the only government in the East which rather prefers the policy of keeping *in* the way than out of it; holding on strongly to every inch of land, even to the point of death, rather than trying to evade Russia. In other words, his government stoutly refuses to retreat, or give way to Russian advance. The Amir believes that Russia keeps on massing her large forces near his borders with the idea that he, like the late Amir Shere Ali Khan, fearing the near neighborhood of vast bodies of Russian troops on his borders, would give way to Russian designs. But the Amir thinks that he knows better.

The success or failure of Britain's Indian policy concerning her northwestern borders depends a great deal upon her relations with Afghanistan. It is to a certain extent believed by all those who are authorities on Indian affairs that, so long as the Amir is alive and adheres to his present policy of keeping upon friendly terms with Great Britain, while ruling his own country strongly and wisely, there is no danger of any great trouble in Afghanistan. But the time at which danger is apprehended by statesmen interested in Afghanistan is when this "grand old man" walks into Paradise, taking his ideas into the grave with him.

In my opinion, the greatest disadvantage of personal rule, *i. e.*, of a sovereignty without a constitution, is that while a despotic ruler can make a kingdom very strong and prosperous, if he be a strong, wise man, the moment he dies everything he did in his lifetime is undone. But with Afghan rulers in the past there was a disadvantage beyond the carrying of their plans into their graves with them. Each succeeding Amir killed, imprisoned, dismissed, or expelled nearly all the ministers and officials of his predecessor; thereby leaving no person with any experience to advise the new ruler about the administration of his kingdom.

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Another danger which is apprehended is the doubt that is surrounding the Amir's successor. Many European writers seem to imagine that the Amir's death will be the signal for a general rising all over the country. On no other point in regard to Afghanistan is there so much controversy and difference of opinion as in reference to the title to the crown of Kabul. Nearly all European historians assert that the only right of succession in Mohammedan countries generally, and particularly in Afghanistan, is that of the sword and strength; that there is no law to decide the claim to the throne except the sharp point of a sword. I have no space here to deal with the history of Afghanistan; but I shall mention that there are three points that tell in the favor of a claimant to the throne, according to Mohammedan law: (1) the title to the crown by election, or, in other words, by the approval and support of the nation, which naturally gives sufficient force to the claim, since the military force of the country is concentrated in the people, who have already given their electoral support; (2) the nomination by the King of the man he wishes to succeed him; and (3) the rule of hereditary succession by primogeniture.

In illustration of these points it may help to make the matter clearer if I give the following historical facts: Mohammed founded his government on republican and democratic principles, and his four successors were elected by the Arabs. In the year 60 of the Hejira, corresponding to 679 A. D., Yazeid succeeded to the throne of the Khalifas merely by hereditary right and on nomination by his father; thus abolishing the system of an elected king. This, however, is going rather far back for an example. To come a little closer to present-day history, Dost Mohammed, the first king of the present dynasty, grandfather of Abdur Rahman, was placed on the throne of Kabul by the chiefs of the country; and though the British Government tried to place Shah Shujah, who had an hereditary claim, on the throne, it failed in its project, because the voice of the people was against him, and in favor of Dost Mohammed. After Dost Mohammed's death, in 1863, his son, Shere Ali, who was not the eldest son, succeeded to the throne, because it was believed that Dost Mohammed had nominated him. Whether he had done so or not, I am not prepared to say. The present Amir succeeded to the throne neither by being heir to Shere Ali Khan nor by being nominated by any one, but simply owing to his own sagacity and the support of the people.

From this instance it is quite clear that if any one of the three named qualifications is generally supposed to be sufficient to place a

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candidate upon the throne, a candidate in whose favor all these three points are united will certainly not find any difficulty in making his title good. It is a wrong presumption that there is no law to decide the title to the crown in Islamic communities. There is ample law laid down by the actions and writings of Islamic leaders. It is the ignorance or wilful disobedience of that law which leads to sanguinary family feuds. The Amir, in an autograph letter received by me in Cambridge, says that if his sons and family will follow his laws and walk in his footsteps and be united among themselves, there will be no difficulty about his son succeeding to the throne; but if they do not do so they will have no one to blame but themselves for any troubles that may arise.

The Amir has very wisely tried to secure the succession in favor of his eldest son, Prince Habibullah Khan, by placing him in possession of the three qualifications I have mentioned. In the first place, since 1891, the Amir has refrained from holding the public *durbars* and royal audiences himself. He has left this duty entirely to his eldest son, so that the latter should not need a nomination to establish his authority after his father's death; such authority being established already in the Amir's lifetime. Secondly, the Amir has authorized Prince Habibullah to give instructions to all the civil and military authorities, to show them that the latter is the man who must be looked upon as their ruler. This places Prince Habibullah in direct communication and friendly relations with all such chiefs and responsible heads of the country whose approval of a new ruler is of the greatest importance. Thirdly, the rule of primogeniture is in the Prince's favor, as he is the eldest son of the Amir.

Those who possess really authoritative knowledge of the political position of Afghanistan of to-day have not the slightest doubt that there is no man in the whole kingdom of Afghanistan sufficiently powerful to dream of disputing Habibullah's claim to the throne of Kabul. But there is no denying the fact that there are claimants to the Kabul throne outside of Afghanistan, namely in India and in Russia. Let us examine in a few words the prospects in favor of or against such candidates. The present Amir has taken very active steps to remove all such men as were a source of danger and disquietude to himself, or might so prove to his son after his death; and so far he has succeeded in carrying out his plans in this respect. Not only has he cleared Afghanistan from the danger of all internal candidates, but he has also succeeded in putting an end to the power of

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those of his rivals who were *out* of Afghanistan, by cutting their companions, supporters, and partisans away from them. These have either returned to Afghanistan, or are in the Amir's pay, publicly or privately.

The only possible chance of such a candidate succeeding to the Kabul throne is in the circumstance of his being supported by the British or the Russian Government. England, I am inclined to think, will never take such a course so long as the Amir and his son preserve a friendly disposition towards her. She suffered when she tried to place Shah Shujah on the throne, and she would not care to go through the same experience again. Moreover, it is not the policy of England to interfere in the private quarrels of the royal family of Kabul; and it is to her own interest to support the Amir and his son so long as they prove to be strong enough to hold their own and to be true toward England.

On the other hand, the Russian candidate is a personage whose claims cannot be ignored. It is curious that, on those occasions when the Amir was supposed to be at the point of death, among the names of the claimants of the Kabul throne mentioned in some of the newspapers, including even some who died before such articles were written, the name of the most dangerous candidate has been very little noticed, though the authorities know it, or ought to know it.

Russia has no obligations toward the Amir and his sons; and it is somewhat against her interests that Afghanistan should be a strong kingdom, united in bonds of friendship with Great Britain. She has, therefore, always been working and intriguing to place her own candidate on the Kabul throne, failing the possession of Kabul herself. The Russians had quite thought that the present Amir, who was sent by them in 1880, would look upon himself as a friend of Russia in preference to England. The Amir, however, is more friendly to his own interests than to those of anybody else; and he is shrewd enough to play his own cards well and to know from which of his two powerful neighbors he can expect the best terms.

Russia is now keeping another cat to let out of the bag, whenever an opportunity arises, in the person, namely, of Ishak Khan, the late governor and viceroy of Turkestan. He is the Amir's first cousin, son of the late Amir Azam Khan, whose father also ruled Afghanistan, though for a short time only. He rebelled against the Amir in 1888, and ever since his defeat has resided in Russia. The Amir has not certainly succeeded in cutting off and separating Ishak's follow-

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ers from him, though he is working toward that end. The Russians give these followers a handsome allowance and all sorts of hopes and promises.

To the ordinary observer of the circumstances, three things are in favor of Ishak Khan; (1) his father, Azam, was Amir; (2) he was governor and viceroy over nearly one-third of Afghanistan; and (3) he showed considerable strength in opposing the Amir's armies in 1888. But I must say that these are three points which go against him. Ishak's father is known throughout the whole of Afghanistan as a drunkard, a mischief-maker, an intriguer, and a coward. Mohammed Ishak, on the contrary, was considered a brave and religious man, up to 1888, when he proved to be the opposite. At the battle of Aybak, Ishak's generals had fought bravely and defeated one column of the armies of the Amir. Seeing this action, from the top of a distant hill, on which he was stationed to witness the fight, and suspecting that it was his own column that was defeated, he fled to Russia like a coward, leaving all his army and supporters to suffer punishment for supporting him. It is a well-known fact that there is nothing more hated by a brave nation than cowardly actions, and as long as Ishak lives the brave warriors of Afghanistan will hate him. But his son, Ismail Khan, has the reputation of being a brave fighting man, and will be a more useful candidate than his father, Ishak, in the hands of Russia, whenever that Power has the opportunity of putting him forward.

What steps Great Britain has taken to obtain a guarantee from Russia to keep these men strongly and carefully watched, and to be responsible for their conduct if they are allowed to make trouble on the borders of Afghanistan, I do not know. I hope, however, that in such a contingency England would take the same precautions to stop Russia from taking every favorable opportunity of interfering as she did at the time of Shere Ali, when she sent the present Amir in 1880, though luckily he made his terms with Great Britain, thanks to the wisdom of Sir Lepel Griffin, Sir Donald Stewart, and the Marquis of Ripon.

In addition to the all important political reforms I have mentioned, Afghanistan has made many vital changes in the social life and conditions of the people, which cannot be fully sketched in one article—perhaps not in half a dozen. I shall enumerate only a few of the most striking features to throw some light on these changes.

Afghanistan has many kinds of manufactories, in which all sorts

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of modern arms and commercial goods are made, equal to those made in other civilized countries. At the present time English, German, and French gentlemen, and English ladies, go about the land in safety without any escort or body-guard, in the same country where one Englishman, Sir Louis Cavagnari, could not be saved, notwithstanding the fact that he was in the fort of Bala Hissar, protected by a considerable body-guard. Roads have been cut throughout the country to bear the transit of heavy guns from one part of the kingdom to the other, some of them even over mountains where people could not go on foot.

One of the most important changes in the social life of the people, made in the Amir's reign, is that every person in the land has some occupation by which he may earn his living; in fact, labor is more expensive at present in Afghanistan than it is in India. There is a saying that Satan finds mischief for idle hands; and it was owing to their lack of occupation that in past times the Afghan people fell into the habit of taking each other's property by force.

The opening of so many enterprises and departments, unknown in Afghanistan till the Amir's reign, has given employment to hundreds of thousands of people previously idle. For instance, the industries worked by water-power or by hand required so many men that every source from which laborers were drawn became exhausted. The Amir, therefore, made a law that all prisoners of war, prisoners for debt, as well as those imprisoned for some other offences, who were anxious to be released from prison, might learn some kind of work, with the understanding that when they became competent their sentences would be remitted, and they would be employed in the Government service.

The Public Works Department and the Forest and Irrigation Departments give occupation not only to those who are employed in cutting the canals, planting trees, in making roads, bridges, etc., but they also give occupation to the much larger number of people who have become cultivators of lands which were barren before canals were cut, and who irrigate them, as well as to the merchants and the drivers of camels and ponies who make use of the roads. Sugar planting, the trade in astrakhan skins, the working of all kinds of mines, the growing of nearly all sorts of vegetables usually imported from other countries, are other great sources of profitable occupation for the people. By these means men who were in the habit of cutting one another's throats for a sheep, a cow, a few shillings, a suit of

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clothes, or even a loaf of bread, have more employment than they can compass. It is true that in commerce and trade the country cannot compete against such neighboring countries as possess railways and telegraphs or other elements for the encouragement of business. But the Amir is not ignorant of the advantages of the two most useful inventions of modern times. The reasons that deter him from the introduction of railways and telegraphs into his country are: first, the political reason obvious to statesmen, namely, that the peaks of mountains are the forts given by nature to the Afghans, who will not destroy these with their own hands so long as they do not feel themselves quite strong enough to be a match for their neighbors; secondly, that he prefers to wait till the advantages and disadvantages of such a change would convince him that he would gain more than he would lose by making the innovation.

The Amir has also established courts of justice, police stations, and other departments, in every town, for the better security of the lives and property of his people. The Amir is the only man of whom the whole nation is afraid, instead of each person being afraid of his neighbor and every petty chief.

One of the most significant changes that the Amir has made during his reign, and one opening out great promise for coming generations, is the raising of the status of woman. Before he came to the throne women were in some measure considered as property. The husband had the power of practising all kinds of cruel treatment. On his death it was thought incumbent on the brother of the deceased, or, in the absence of his brother, on his nearest male relation, as a point of honor, to marry the widow, whether or not he or she was willing to enter into such a marriage. By this disgraceful custom, which had become law among the Afghans, and was enforced by the Government, the moment a woman was married she was considered as part of the purchasable property, not only of her husband, but of his brothers; and in default of his brothers, of his nearest male relations; and in default of these she even became the property of his clan.

It frequently happened that after the death of the husband the widow did not wish to marry his relatives; and as they wished to force her to do so, the result was the taking up of arms and a war between the family of the widow and that of her late husband. The quarrel was furthermore taken up by the widow's whole tribe and that of her deceased husband's relatives. Several cases of this kind

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were brought before the Amir; and he finally, in 1883, passed a law declaring all such claims to be illegal, and that no widow was to be forced to marry any one against her will. This clause made also a remarkable change in the law of inheritance. Previously all the property of the husband, together with the widow herself and her children, became the property of the person who married the widow by force.

There were many other abuses of the same kind, as, for instance, the marrying of girls under age without their consent, in the absence or death of their parents, by bribing their guardians, and by various other fraudulent means. The Amir's law enacts, in accordance with Islamic law, that such girls on attaining the age of maturity, or even before, shall be quite at liberty to repudiate such marriages, and that the people who force them into these unions shall be liable to criminal punishment.

There grew up another system which also was based upon no law at all. The dower, or *mihr*, given on the part of the bridegroom to the wife, is a necessary part of marriage in Islam. But as no fixed maximum sum is mentioned in Islamic law for the *mihr*, it had been left open to be decided by the parties at the time of their marriage. Hence, if the parents of a girl were unreasonable people, or if they saw that the boy was madly in love with the girl, they used to fix an imaginary marriage portion or dower. This imaginary dower was sometimes a hundred times more than the property of the husband, and, of course, it was impossible for him to pay it. A great many quarrels arose out of this illogical practice, making the social life of many a very unpleasant one. The Amir, therefore, enacted a law fixing the dower, as follows: For members of the royal family it was not to exceed 12,000 rupees, or to be under 3,000; for the nobility and chiefs, and other great officials, it was to be between 1,000 and 3,000 rupees; and for the ordinary people, it was to be between 300 and 900 rupees. The Amir added a provision that if the husband wished to give his wife more, gratuitously, and had the means for doing so, he was quite at liberty to do it, but it was not to be mentioned in the marriage contract, and the law would not enforce any such accessory gift.

Again, disputes frequently arose because marriages were usually not registered. Except very rarely they were not even put into writing. The Amir has made a law enacting that all people who wish to be married must buy a printed, stamped form from the Government Office, stating for what purpose it is bought, that they may have their marriage registered in one of the ecclesiastical courts. For

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this service they pay a registration fee of ten rupees into the Government Treasury.

Another important point in which the Amir has made laudable reform, adding greatly to the happiness of his subjects, is the abolition of the disgraceful system of slavery. Though there are still slaves in the houses of some of the chiefs and of the nobility, yet the slave-trade, which was practised in Afghanistan before the Amir's reign, is entirely forbidden. The system of slavery in Afghanistan had grown to such an extent that any clan or tribe or royal family that was stronger than another was in the habit of capturing prisoners from its antagonist, and making slaves of them. There was no privilege for any special class or religion, but every one was liable to be made a slave. The first law that the Amir passed in this respect was to the effect that there should be no more selling of free persons into slavery, and that only captives taken in war, or the offspring of those who were already slaves, were to be considered as such.

The Amir went a step farther even than this; for, after conquering the country of the Kafirs, which was the only storehouse left for keeping up the slave-trade, he ordered that prisoners taken in war, although they were Kafirs or infidels, should not be made slaves. He paid to the warriors the value of the Kafirs whom they had captured in the war of 1895, and released them all, giving them a province of land where they might make their habitation. He also gave some of them Government employment in the army and other departments. At the present time, therefore, the buying or selling of any description of human beings in the open market is forbidden by the Amir's law. Moreover, though the nobility still retain as slaves those who are born as such in their houses, they are not allowed to treat them harshly. In Afghanistan, in the old times, people were allowed to kill their slaves, just as in ancient Rome, in America before the Rebellion, and in other countries; but by the Amir's law a person who kills his slave is liable to the same punishment as one who kills any free-born person. The same restriction has been placed on the rights of parents, who formerly had the power to kill and sell their children, as in the case of early Roman law. In fact, the offspring of slaves are looked upon as members of the family, and are treated as such. They are called in Kabul *khanah zad* (born in the family).

I know of many cases where the slaves who had been given manumission by rich masters would not leave the comforts they enjoyed. Some of the highest officials in the Amir's service are his slaves. For

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instance, Nazir Safar Khan, the Lord of the Seal, the most confidential courtier of the Amir, is a slave; and the late Parwhana Khan, head of the Amir's military forces at Kabul, and Jan Mohammed Khan, Lord of the Treasury, were till their death the Amir's slaves. Faramurz Khan, under whose care the Amir has left the city of Herat (which is of greater importance, standing as it does in the face of Russian advance, than Kabul itself), is also a slave.

Apropos of the Amir's abolition of slavery, an English writer's evidence is worth quoting here:

> "In justice to the Amir Abdur Rahman, it should be mentioned that the extension of his authority over Shignan was in one way a blessing to the people, since his officials put a stop to the exportation of slaves, which, under the native Mirs, had been carried on in so ruthless a fashion. The rumor that a new order of things had been established began to spread far and wide. Miserable creatures who had lived years in cruel bondage escaped from their masters and made their way back to their homes in Shignan, where now, thanks to Abdur Rahman, they may abide in peace."

Another great change made by the Amir concerns the land of the people, which had never been properly surveyed or measured, and upon which the revenue was charged only approximately before his reign. The system for fixing the Government revenue on land was like the system which existed in the Punjab and some other parts of India before British rule; namely, the assessors simply looked at the fields, and said, for instance: "There will be about one thousand tons of corn, so the landowners must pay one-third of that amount into the Government Treasury." This system of fixing the revenue approximately was called in Afghanistan *sihkot* (dividing into three shares). Now the revenue in those parts of Afghanistan which have been surveyed is fixed per acre, according to the quality of the land, as it is in India. The same kind of changes have been made in the irrigation of the land. Before the Amir's time, many of the villages where an official or a favorite of some king resided enjoyed more water from the canals and paid less revenue therefor than villages where no favorite lived. An elaborate code of law has now been enacted, which places all people on the same level in regard to this matter; the water privileges being apportioned in accordance with the quantity and quality of the land possessed, and the revenue paid.

The Amir has also made a law, unknown before in Afghanistan, with regard to life imprisonment, sending people who deserve this punishment into such remote parts of his dominions as are sparsely populated, giving them land to cultivate. This is, I think, an idea

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which coincides with the practice in India; Indian life-prisoners being sent to the islands situated in the Indian Ocean.

The Amir's code of law for the safety of travellers enacts that the Kafila Bashi (head of the caravans) must see that the owners of ponies do not rob or abuse the travellers who hire these animals; and he is required to take from them a receipt or a letter, stating that they arrived safely at their destination. The inhabitants of villages and towns through which the roads pass are responsible for a traveller's lost goods, and must give them back to him, if the robbers who stole the goods live in these towns or villages. If the goods cannot be recovered, the value thereof must be returned in money. If it is not known by whom the goods were stolen, the local officials are still obliged to aid in the search for the robbers.

It has been impossible, of course, within the limits of a magazine article to give more than a few of the important political and social changes brought about during the Amir's reign. There are many others of great interest which have been necessarily omitted.

SULTAN MOHAMMAD KHAN.

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SOME ITALIAN PROBLEMS.

THE recent warnings of Prof. Villari, in the "Nuova Antologia," have directed attention to the real causes of the growing unrest and discontent manifest to all who interest themselves, even from afar, in the affairs of the Italian Kingdom.

Prof. Villari, who is a Senator of the Kingdom of Italy, is neither a pessimist nor an alarmist; nor would any of his countrymen presume to style him a visionary or a doctrinaire. In the language of far-sighted and practical statesmanship, instinct with simple patriotism, and free from "fanfaronade" or narrow partisanship, he has exposed to his fellow citizens some of the more flagrant existing evils, and the dangers that attend them. The unquestionable authority of the exponent, and his universally acknowledged moderation in historical and political criticism, preclude any thought of exaggeration.

To these qualities in Prof. Villari may now be added the prestige of successful prophecy in the recent municipal elections in Milan, which have given rise to a feeling of intense uneasiness throughout the Peninsula, resulting, as they have, in a signal victory for the anti-dynastic, socialist, and republican elements. Although unquestionably the direct result of the lamentable disorders of May, 1898, and the consequent defection of the Milanese Catholics, who had been accustomed to vote with the moderate liberals, it would be unwise to associate too closely this local defeat with the evils Signor Villari has exposed. Nevertheless, the incontrovertible fact remains that, for one reason or another, the richest and most influential city of Italy—"the Moral Capital," as it is frequently styled—has succumbed to anti-dynastic influence.

The pessimists would have us see in this a prophetic analogy with the coalitions between legitimists and republicans against Napoleon III, during the latter period of the French Empire. As yet, however, there does not exist any formidable political cohesion between the socialist, republican, radical, and clerical parties, directed against the monarchical-unitarian régime.

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Garibaldi's dictum, "The Monarchy unites us; the Republic would divide us," is as true to-day as when first uttered; and all parties recognize in the House of Savoy the *sine qua non* condition of unity. Some few extremists may go to the length of asserting that economic salvation lies in federation; but the mass of the Italian people would hardly be prepared to follow them, and to jeopardize the fruits—meagre and unsatisfactory as they seem—of that glorious struggle for national existence and national dignity. And yet Prof. Villari declares that all Italians, to whatever class of society they may belong, or to whatever political party, are as one in speaking ill of their Government! "This," he continues, "was easily accounted for in the days when patriots groaned beneath the tyranny of the Austrians, the Bourbons, the Pope, or the rulers of the Duchies"; but even then each particular oppressor, each individual system, had its fervent partisans, ready and willing to uphold and defend their political faith against all comers. Of the present Government, however, the very men who founded it, as well as others who belong to it, and who derive benefits from it, speak ill of it. "The worst of this," concludes Prof. Villari, "is that nobody imposed this Government upon us. We ourselves selected it and constituted it; consequently, the evil we speak of it ends by causing us to lose all confidence in ourselves. And this is even more dangerous than the unlimited faith we formerly entertained."

The budget is the mirror which reflects not only the financial, but also the social and political, conditions of a country. Therefore, for a clear appreciation of the existing evils we must cast a glance at this important register of the public weal. After a series of unpardonable errors (to use Signor Villari's words) the deficit in 1888–89 was computed at 470 million lire. By a long-applied series of economies, and by dint of prodigious feats of financial gymnastics, successive Governments have contrived an equilibrium. "And yet we are more discontented than ever!" exclaims Signor Villari. Consequently, the realization of this acme of administrative bliss has not proved the panacea for the social and political maladies undermining the State. Nor has it perceptibly ameliorated the general economic conditions, except in certain local and special instances, which, although individually important, are of small significance in the mass.

The reasons for this are obvious. Economies alone, however sweeping, could not accomplish this much-heralded equilibrium: it was necessary to devise fresh taxes or to increase the burden of those

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in force. Italians now enjoy the unenviable distinction of being the most heavily taxed nation in Europe. The interest on the perpetual debts alone amounts to 490 million lire. Signor Fortimato, the deputy, estimates the budget at 1,600 million lire, out of which 800 millions are devoured by the interest on the public debt in its various forms, including pensions. Deduct another 160 millions reserved for the payment of redemptions, and but 600 millions remain for the expenses of the Government, including the army, navy, public works, prisons, public security, etc. This is not only meagre, but absolutely insufficient. While declining to discuss the bearings of the greatly hampered financial resources upon the general efficiency of the army and navy, Prof. Villari asserts that the medical clinics and laboratories, as well as the schools, all stand in more or less need of essentials, while there is not a public library in the kingdom which can afford to keep abreast of the times. Even the State Archives are in many instances allowed to mould and decay in damp vaults for want of funds to provide suitable storage.

But there is worse to come. With its barren extravagance, its incongruity of construction, this delusive budget, at once so meagre and so onerous, is strangely unjust in the partition of its crushing burden on the various occupations and classes. Statisticians affirm that the poorer classes of Italy are burdened with 50 per cent of the national tribute. How near the truth this estimate may be it is difficult to say, but it is certain that in the majority of instances luxuries escape, or are but lightly touched, while the very essentials of life, such as corn, salt, petroleum, etc., are exorbitantly taxed. The "lotto" (Government lotteries) net about 27 million lire to the State; depleting the public pocket to the extent of nearly 70 million lire, coming principally from the small wage-earners and the laboring classes. The duties on salt benefit the Treasury from 54 to 59 millions. A quintal (220 lbs.) of salt, which costs the State about 32 cents (lire 1.62) to produce, is sold to the people for $8 (lire 40). Petroleum, which costs the Government lire 17 the quintal, is sold at about lire 65. The tax on grain, which has climbed as high as lire 7.50 the quintal, causes about 45 millions to flow annually into the public coffers. In consequence, a good harvest at home means a falling off of imports; thus jeopardizing the financial equilibrium.

Signor Giolitti, in a speech delivered in April of this year, drew the attention of the Chamber to the manifest injustice of certain items in this distribution of taxes, and sounded a note of warning,

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which found a ready echo in the minds of the more enlightened of his compatriots. The income tax, he states, is a heavy one; but on a net income of lire 533 (about $106) derived from industrial or commercial sources no charge is levied, while up to lire 1,060 the tax is an attenuated one. On professional incomes, or those produced by the arts and crafts, the exemption reaches to lire 640, and the reduced tax to lire 1,280.

This is equitable enough. But, on the other hand, landed property must always pay, and enjoys no exemption. The man who with a capital of say lire 3,000 ($600) opens a wine-shop which brings him in less than lire 533 pays no tax, while one who invests his savings in a small property and tills it with his own hands, even should it produce less than 533 lire, must pay. And he pays moreover (indirectly) all those taxes which are imposed for the purpose of protecting the manufactures which furnish him with the necessary agricultural implements, and those which furnish him with clothing, increasing the price by 30 per cent, according to Signor Giolitti. The direct consequence of all this is that every year large numbers of small holdings are brought under the hammer for arrears of taxes amounting to *2, 3, and 5 lire* (40, 60, and 100 cents!). "And thus these small holdings, which contribute so largely to the healthy, normal, and prosperous condition of a country, and which should be created when they do not exist, are in Italy strangled and destroyed!"

The political and commercial jealousies and dissensions between the North and the South are patent to any intelligent observer of public affairs in the Peninsula; and, wherever the fault may lie, the existing industrial and financial conditions are unfortunately not of a nature to diminish them. If we accept Prof. Pantaleoni's estimate, made in 1891, Northern Italy possesses 48 per cent of the national wealth, while it pays a little less than 40 per cent of the taxes; Central Italy, with 25 per cent, pays 28 per cent; Southern Italy, holding not more than 27 per cent, contributes 32 per cent. As Signor Villari very cogently reasons, the exemption accorded to industrial incomes and denied to those derived from agriculture must inevitably result favorably to the northern provinces—which are considerably richer, more advanced, and largely given over to manufacturing interests—and correspondingly to the material and moral detriment of the southern provinces, which are poorer, less prosperous, and exclusively agricultural.

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Under the fostering protective duties the manufacturing industries have prospered marvellously. Sending their products to the South, they not only benefit by the home markets, but attract to their industrial focus the unemployed capital of the less progressive provinces; which renders still more difficult any amelioration of agricultural conditions. The conclusion is evident: despite individual effort, this displacement of local financial resources, and the exigencies which demand an equilibrium of the budget, force an ever-increasing burden on those who are poorest.

When the Kingdom of Naples was incorporated with United Italy, the Southerners, in the first flush of patriotic enthusiasm, consented without a murmur to the unification of the public debt, although their own funds were quoted above par, and their debt was comparatively small, while the debt of the rest of Italy was already enormous, and the funds had considerably depreciated. The new customs regulations, which were shortly afterwards introduced, rapidly swept out the few and not very flourishing manufacturing industries, while the Communes found themselves saddled with institutions the value of which they were not yet in a position to appreciate, and the expenses of which were far beyond their power to bear. Even the rupture of the commercial treaty with France, advantageous to the North, overwhelmed the South in serious financial embarrassment.

The protective duties, as has been said, fostered to an unexpected extent the manufactures of Piedmont and Lombardy, especially those of Milan, which has become a commercial centre of the first rank. Railway rolling stock, which was formerly imported from England, France, and Germany, is now manufactured in Upper Italy, and not only supplies the home market, but is beginning to be exported, while the ship-yards of Leghorn, Genoa, and Spezzia are building war vessels for foreign nations. But to the essentially agricultural South, no compensation came for the loss of the great French market.

The operative forces of the Italian struggle for national independence and constitutional liberty were essentially democratic, and the national sentiment and institutions are nominally so to-day. Yet we find not only successive governments, but even the local administrations of communes and provinces, following in practice a diametrically opposite course. For instance, in the South the saddle-horse and the four-in-hand of the rich pay no tax, because, it is argued, such luxuries cost money, but bring in no pecuniary return. On the other hand, the donkey or the mule of the peasant, which carries his produce

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to market, or draws his plough, being considered an implement of labor, and consequently a source of gain, must pay the tax!

Signor Villari cites a curious example of this perverse reasoning, which is peculiar to no political creed in Italy. Not long since, the Socialists gained control of the direction of affairs of the Commune of Imola—an important town not far from Bologna. The *octroi* duties were at once increased; a projected grant of a few thousand lire for meals for public school children was thrown out; and a larger sum was voted for subsidies for pupils of the classical schools. Their administration was entirely for the benefit of the upper middle classes.

It will be remembered that some years ago the Right, then in power, in order to patch up a budget threatened with an enormous deficit, established a tax on the grinding of grain, "macinato." The iniquity of the measure, which fell so heavily on the poor, to whom bread is literally the staff of life in Italy, caused the Left to rise in virtuous indignation and institute a popular and successful crusade against the obnoxious decree. But although the Left, when again in power, abolished the "mill tax," the duty on grain, which was lire 1.60 (35 cents), gradually rose to lire 7.50. The Government tax on flour was abolished in those communes which exacted an *octroi* and the frontier duties were raised to lire 12 on foreign flour.

Signor Fortimato, whose arguments have been quoted above, discerns the salvation of his country in a solution of the agricultural problem; for to him Italy is essentially an agricultural country. But for this solution, capital is necessary; and capital is at present unprocurable, because all savings are immediately invested in the public funds, which yield a certain 4 per cent, and relieve the investor of all concern and bother. Here is Signor Fortimato's remedy:

"If we had the courage not to incur further expenses, and to maintain the stability of the budget for a short period, credit and confidence would revive; the tax-payer would have peace; and the balance would not be perpetually destroyed. Public funds would finally be quoted above par; and it would be possible to make a legal conversion at 3 per cent, which would effect a saving of 120 millions, with which two-tenths of the ground tax could be abolished, small holdings exempted from taxation, and a portion of the *octroi* rescinded. Capital would then forsake the public funds and flow to the fields, thus finally placing us on a normal footing, and on a basis of real prosperity."

Senator Negri, while warmly praising Signor Fortimato's theories, believes that it is not only the economical side of the problem which must be considered, but that the moral should claim equal attention. Says the Senator:

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"If the unhappy economical conditions are a potent factor in the demoralization of a country, the latter is also the greatest obstacle to an economical recovery. Italy is politically immoral. If we do not succeed in curing her of this malady we shall never accomplish anything. Northern Italy is impregnated with ferocious, and at the same time petty, passions which corrupt all rectitude in sentiment or justice. Southern Italy is suffering from another malady—administrative corruption. There the conviction that liberty imposes duties which honest citizens may not shirk is lacking. And thus public life, in its various forms, falls into the hands of those who only perceive in it an opportunity for the furtherance of private interests. It is imperative that Italy should brace herself morally, otherwise we can hope for nothing."

That the south of Italy is morally and politically less advanced than the northern part is unfortunately a fact. This lamentable state of affairs Prof. Villari attributes in great part to the mistaken policy of the Government after the annexation in 1860–61. That the professor is correct in his assertion no one who is at all conversant with the parliamentary and political history of Italy for the last forty years will venture to deny. According to Prof. Villari, the belief that the southern provinces had been corrupted by the Government of the Bourbons, instead of inspiring the rest of Italy with the conviction that the highest political duty consisted in correcting this either by persuasion or by force, suggested, on the contrary, that this very corruption might furnish an easy means of governing according to the caprices of the Ministry. This was resorted to on a large scale, with consequences always harmful, and sometimes disastrous. The Prefects became little more than electoral agents. They were not asked to govern well, but were merely required to see that "faithful deputies" (*deputati sicuri*) were elected.

This fatal policy has borne its inevitable fruit. If we are to believe Mr. Stillman, for many years the Roman correspondent of the London "Times," "the animosities of the factions and the corruptness of the agencies which have by this time pervaded all branches of the Italian Government have developed a discontent with, and even a contempt for, parliamentary institutions, which is at this moment the greatest danger in the condition of the nation."

That a very real and widespread dissatisfaction with parliamentary methods, as practised, now exists, the more patriotic and honest among Italian statesmen are the first to admit. Cruel mistakes have been made, and are continually being made. The financial burden imposed upon the poorer classes is, as we have seen, well-nigh intolerable. The remedy lies in the hands of the Italian people, who are a free people, living under liberal and enlightened institutions. A change of the political régime deliberately chosen as best adapted

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to their needs would do no good; it would, in fact, only plunge the country into worse and inextricable embarrassment. What is imperatively demanded is Reform—social, financial, economical, and administrative.

But here, also, lies a very great difficulty. Where is the statesman to be found who could undertake the task with any hope of success? Italian statesmen in office are abnormally timid; while their colleagues in opposition, eager to step into their official shoes, hesitate equally to alienate possible political support by a too radical sacrifice of local prejudices, or by the application of pressure when advocating administrative reforms suspiciously regarded by the majority of even trustworthy officials as mere political innovations. And these difficulties are increased a hundred-fold when dealing with the South, where the situation is even more complicated.

The application of the remedy for the economical, financial, and administrative reforms lies, as has been said, in the hands of the people, which in the Italy of to-day means the intelligent professional and middle classes. The great majority of the population, the peasant class, is now, as it was in the past, entirely outside the political life of the country. And this must needs be so with a nation of whose people 50 per cent are illiterate. The tiller of the fields, who in Switzerland, Germany, England, and other northern countries plays so important a part in public affairs, although constituting in Italy the most numerous class, and the source of the principal riches of the land, lives in a world apart. The principal burden of taxation falls with crushing weight upon his shoulders. Accustomed through long ages of oppression to a patient, unreasoning obedience, amounting to servitude, he struggles on till his individual burden overpowers his strength, and then he emigrates. "The state of degradation and oppression in which we hold him," says Signor Villari, "demonstrates that our social life is founded on an injustice—a condition of affairs which diffuses an unfortunate moral atmosphere, and which poisons the whole of our social existence."

In his admirable scheme for agrarian reform entitled "La Voce dei Campi" (The Voice from the Fields), Signor M. Ferraris, also a deputy, has devised a system of relief, material as well as moral, for the millions of his fellow-citizens thus held in bondage, which, should it receive the political support it deserves, would undoubtedly pave the way for at least a partial solution of the grave problems which have been outlined in this paper.

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When men like Senator Villari and Maggiorino Ferraris put their shoulders to the wheel there is promise of better things. Italian patriotism, in its broadest and most earnest interpretation, is not dead. The glorious traditions and the noble heritage left by those unsurpassed heroes and martyrs of the long struggle for national autonomy still live; and although the work yet to be done is more prosaic in its nature than the work accomplished in those times, the necessity for self-sacrifice on the altar of patriotism still exists.

H. Remsen Whitehouse.

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CANADA AND IMPERIALISM.

THE presence of Colonial contingents in South Africa fighting shoulder to shoulder with the veteran regiments of the British army in the cause of the empire marks an epoch in British history. In the case of Canada, as well as of Australia and New Zealand, this aid has been given voluntarily. Legal obligation did not exist, and the British Government was clothed with no power to compel colonial assistance. The controlling force has been a bond of sympathy and of loyalty to the motherland. Little doubt need be entertained that if a combination of foes should force upon Great Britain a struggle for national existence, Canada at least would put her last available man in the field, and would spend her last dollar in the defence of the mighty empire of which her territory forms no inconsiderable portion.

The devotion of Canada to the interests of the British empire is not entirely one of sentiment. Material interests also play a prominent part; for Great Britain is almost the exclusive market for Canada's food products, and furnishes a market for two-thirds of the total exports from the Dominion. Self-interest forbids that Canada should suffer this market to be destroyed or seriously curtailed.

As a result of their action in the present crisis in British affairs, Australia and Canada have suddenly challenged the attention of the world. Each country in itself possesses the area and resources of an empire. An intelligent comprehension of the vast extent and the potentialities of the Dominion is possessed by comparatively few men outside the boundaries of that country. It has an area of 3,618,000 square miles, five per cent less than that of the continent of Europe. The area of the United States, including Alaska, is 3,580,000. As exploration proceeds, and the character of the soil and climate of the Dominion, and the extent of its resources, are better known, the estimate of its importance rises. In 1888 the Canadian Senate appointed a committee to examine into the extent of the resources of the Mackenzie Basin and the country eastward to Hudson's Bay. The testimony of missionaries, Hudson Bay contractors, explorers, and others,

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was taken. The conclusion arrived at was that 300,000 square miles of this district were suitable for the cultivation of wheat, 400,000 square miles for the cultivation of barley, 650,000 square miles for the cultivation of potatoes, and that the pastoral area would cover 860,000 square miles. Outside of this region drained by the great river of the North, and to the south of it, are the territories of Saskatchewan, Assiniboia, Alberta, and the province of Manitoba, with a total area of 370,000 square miles. The area of the maritime provinces—Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia—is 700,000 square miles.

The total arable area of the Dominion is probably 1,475,000 square miles, less mountains and water. The actual arable area fit for cultivation and capable of producing crops of wheat and other cereals is in excess of 1,000,000 square miles; and the country is capable of sustaining, from the productions of its own soil, a population of from 75,000,000 to 100,000,000. The climatic conditions are not governed by lines of latitude. The Japan current, on the Pacific coast, and the Chinook winds, sweeping down the great continental incline from the highlands of New Mexico and the region east of the Rocky Mountains toward the Arctic Ocean, unimpeded by mountain ranges, have a remarkable influence upon the climate of the Canadian Northwest. The isothermal line, marking the mean temperature of St. Paul and Winnipeg, extends in a northwesterly direction from St. Paul to the northern margin of Peace River Valley and the south shore of the Great Slave Lake, in latitude 60°. Embraced within this immense region, of which this line is the easterly and the Rocky Mountains the westerly boundary, is one of the most extensive and fertile wheat-growing regions in the world, mostly in a state of nature at the present time.

The Dominion possesses great mineral wealth. An auriferous region extends from the American boundary line west of the Rocky Mountains northerly for 1,400 miles, with an average width of nearly 300 miles, having the rich mining region of the Klondike within its northern limits. Forests of great commercial value cover a large portion of the territory of the Dominion; and its fisheries, both sea and inland, are of enormous value. Hudson's Bay, 1,000 miles in length, 600 miles wide, and covering 500,000 square miles, is a *mare clausum* within Canadian boundaries. This great expanse of water is three times the size of the North Sea. It has cod banks; salmon rivers, as yet untouched, enter from the Labrador side; and there are valu-

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able whale and walrus fisheries. Through the straits connecting Hudson's Bay with the Atlantic is likely to pour at no distant day a great commerce from the wheat fields yet to be brought under cultivation, from the forests, and from the mines to the west of this inland sea. The great Northern lakes, Great Slave Lake, Great Bear Lake, Athabaska Lake, and scores of others teem with fish of the finest quality; and the country is a wilderness of lakes and streams almost throughout the entire limit of the Dominion, and especially within the Laurentian portion of it. It is a pleasant, picturesque land, with vast capabilities, admirably adapted to be the home of a virile and liberty-loving people.

The institutions of the country are modelled after those of Great Britain. Canada has the same features in regard to responsible government. It has the same parliamentary rules and usages, and a ministry directly responsible to the representatives of the people, having control of the Government and holding office only upon the condition of commanding a majority in the House of Commons. The experiment of the growth of institutions, distinctly British in form and spirit, alongside of the institutions of the Great Republic, will afford a study of deep interest to students of the science of government in the future; and it may be believed that each will exercise modifying and salutary influences upon the other.

The loyalty of Canada to the British Empire, and the devotion of almost its entire population to British institutions, are possibly surprising to the people of the United States. American proximity and the interblending of interests had naturally led to the expectation that the two countries might gravitate toward each other. Immediately after the repeal of the corn laws in England an annexation sentiment of very pronounced character was manifested in Canada; and the celebrated annexation manifesto of 1849 was signed by a great number of leading public men, who afterward repudiated their action in that respect. During the continuance of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 to 1866, the volume of commercial transactions between the two countries increased rapidly; leading naturally to intimate social relations and to a feeling of friendliness and sympathy on the part of a considerable portion of the Canadian population toward the United States. A remarkable proof of this sentiment is the fact that over forty thousand Canadians served in the American army during the war of the rebellion.

Immediately following the abrogation by the United States of the

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Reciprocity Treaty in 1866 came a period of high duties in the United States and of repression of the natural tendency of the two countries to trade with each other. Since that date the American tariff has been repressive in its tendency toward Canada as regards commercial intercourse. Several efforts were made by Canadian statesmen to secure a mitigation of these conditions, which hampered trade between contiguous peoples, and a return to a policy calculated to promote intercourse and trade between the British North American colonies and the United States. Two abortive attempts were made under the Conservative party between the abrogation of the treaty in 1866 and the year 1872. The failure of the first of these attempts, made soon after the abrogation of the treaty, served most effectively to promote the success of the scheme for confederating the British North American provinces, which was accomplished in 1867.

In 1874, after the Liberal party came into power, negotiations were opened by Hon. George Brown, as representative of Canada, and Lord Thornton, the British minister, on the one hand, and the American Executive on the other hand.

These negotiations resulted in the framing of a treaty known in Canada as the Brown Draft Treaty, which was broad and liberal in its character. It proposed to admit a long list of American manufactures into Canada free of duty, to give free admission for Canada's natural products into the United States, and to make other provisions calculated to promote good feeling and the growth of intimate relations between the two countries. This treaty unfortunately failed to receive ratification by the United States Senate; and the policy of trade repression between the two countries continued in vogue until the adoption of the Wilson Bill in 1895. Even this bill but slightly mitigated the almost prohibitive duties put upon Canadian farm products entering the market of the United States.

If the object of this line of policy was to convince Canada that the great advantage of securing access to the American markets could only be attained by entering into the American union, and of forcing a movement in that direction, its effect was the direct reverse of the intention of those who put the policy into operation. The result was that a feeling of animosity was engendered. Notwithstanding this state of feeling, the Canadian policy toward the United States was comparatively liberal. The duties were low, and the increase of importations from the United States into Canada grew apace. During the period from 1866 to the present year, the exports of Canada to the

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United States have remained nearly stationary, and were in point of fact about the same amount in 1899 as in 1866. As I have shown in a previous article,[1] the result of the fiscal policies pursued by the two countries was that Canada in 1899 imported from the United States $101,642,000, of which $93,700,000 was for consumption, and exported to the United States of her own products, including short returns, $39,225,000. This does not include coin and bullion. The balance of trade against Canada between total imports and total exports was $56,509,000. She bought of the United States of farm products $24,448,000, and sold to that country, of farm products the produce of Canada, $5,778,000. She imported from the United States of free goods $48,535,000, which was 75 per cent of her import of free goods from the world; and she received the advantage of free entrance into the markets of the United States for her own products to an extent not exceeding $5,000,000. She charged duties upon total imports from the United States amounting to 11½ per cent, and duties upon dutiable imports from the United States to the amount of 24.13 per cent, while American duties upon dutiable imports were 49 per cent.

With a free list to the United States nine times as great as that furnished by the United States to Canada; with duties levied by the United States double in amount of percentage the duties imposed by Canada; and with practically prohibitory duties against the Dominion's farm products, there is little reason for surprise that Canada has been gradually drifting away in sympathy and in sentiment from her great neighbor, a result which the neighbor has taken every pains to render inevitable by an unfriendly fiscal policy. Being practically debarred from the American market, Canada, of course, has been obliged to find markets elsewhere, and has been enabled to do so beyond her most sanguine expectations. England last year took 62 per cent of her total exports, and her exports of farm products to that country was ten times greater than to the United States.

The effect of this immense development of English trade has been naturally to bind Canada more closely to Great Britain in sentiment and sympathy. This natural tendency has been strengthened by the lenient and generous course pursued by Great Britain toward her colonies. While her government has the power of veto upon Canadian legislation, the power remains a dead letter, not having been made use of even when Canadian legislation was detrimental to British inter-

[1] See THE FORUM for June, 1900, pp. 471 *et seq.*

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ests, as in the case of the adoption of the protective system in 1878. Canada's freedom of action has never been in the slightest degree interfered with; and she has always enjoyed the protection of Britain's army and navy and the services of her diplomatic and consular system free of cost. The result naturally has been the rapid growth of the Imperialistic sentiment; and to-day it is reasonable to believe that not 10 per cent of the Canadian population outside the province of Quebec are other than thoroughly loyal to British institutions. One evidence of the existence of this feeling, and of the determination to promote British interests as far as possible, is the adoption of the preferential trade policy, under which, two years ago, British imports were granted a preferential duty of 12 per cent, and one year ago of 25 per cent. By the action of Parliament the present session this differential rate has been increased to 33⅓ per cent.

When the British power was assailed in South Africa by Boer intrigue and hostility, the colonies realized at a glance the importance of the crisis. An empire of 1,500,000 square miles, with a future of indefinite expansion, was at stake; British prestige was at stake; the diamond mines of Kimberley; the fabulously rich gold mines of the Witwatersrand; the great region north of the Transvaal—which embraces unquestionably the ancient Ophir of the days of Hiram and Solomon; and the breezy, salubrious uplands north and south of the great river Zambezi and adjacent to the inland seas of Nyassa and Tanganika, with their vast possibilities—all these were the prizes for which the contestants entered the lists. Instinct and loyal impulse led the colonies to range themselves almost instantly on the side of the motherland, with a determination that the great British empire in Africa should remain intact, and that British influence and development in Africa should proceed unimpeded.

Imperial federation—involving a federal union, a central Parliament, representation in that Parliament by the Colonies, and a central jurisdiction exercised by that Parliament over all the empire—probably will never be realized. It is not essential to imperial unity that it should be. Neither is it at all likely that Britain will impose discriminating duties upon food products from various countries in the interests of Canada and other food-producing colonies, unless as an accompaniment of an Imperial *Zollverein* and absolute free trade throughout the empire. There has grown up, however, a bond of sympathy and mutual good will which amounts to an unwritten law, and which will secure every possible preference, both in England and

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the Colonies, each for the other, in trade transactions. This spirit is likely to continue, and may lead in the near future to the consummation of that Imperial *Zollverein* which now seems a dream of the advocates of a United Empire.

England's military power looms up before the world in vaster proportions than ever before. Her basis of military strength is not only the forty millions of population of the British Isles, but the large and rapidly increasing population of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand; and India affords a recruiting ground among its warlike tribes for millions of men, if necessary, to be mustered into the British service.

The meaning to the world of this growth of the Imperialistic spirit is not one of menace. It proffers a benediction of good will and of hope for the future. Great Britain's course in the past has been one calculated to promote the best interests of humanity. Such will be her course in the future; and vast, unreclaimed regions of the earth, such as the dark, unappropriated portions of Africa, will yet fall under her sway. The faster this destiny is fulfilled, the better for the inhabitants, and for the interests of humanity generally. Her colonial rule is a just and beneficent one. She holds the scales of justice with even hand, and sedulously seeks to promote the interests of the people who come under her sway, and to develop the resources and increase the wealth of the lands over which her flag floats.

It is needless to say that the English-speaking people of Great Britain and of all her colonies are anxious to promote friendly relations with the United States, and to act in concert with that country —which means that the earth shall be civilized and reclaimed, largely through the influence of the Anglo-Saxon race. A feeling of jealousy toward the United States does not exist in England. No appeal to passion, based upon popular prejudice against the American people, can be made there, for the simple reason that there is no such prejudice to appeal to. England will look with equanimity, and with approval, upon the extension of American territory and the increase of American power, hoping to be able to act in concert with the United States in the march of that destiny which God seems to have marked out as the path of English-speaking peoples in the twentieth century.

JOHN CHARLTON.

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THE UNITED STATES AS A WORLD POWER.

II.

Her Advantages in the Competition for Commercial Empire.

Having defined the nature of the economic problem which confronts the nations in the struggle for commercial empire, it remains to consider the means for winning supremacy in this struggle, and the advantages and disadvantages under which the United States enters the contest. The fact that the shutting up of markets, diplomatic intrigue, and even the sword are factors in the contest takes it beyond the purely economic field, and sets it on a stage where the play of the great forces of passion, patriotism, and race conflict give surpassing interest to the drama of world history.

We have seen that intensity of competition in a world-wide market is the dominating note of modern industrial life. We have seen that the highest efficiency of every factor in production is the only means of winning in the economic field, but that states which fear to trust their forces in this field may throw the sword into the balance, as Brennus tossed his blade upon the scales which weighed the gold to ransom Rome. It therefore behooves the nation which would succeed in the economic contest to be prepared also for the final test of force, which has not ceased to be a factor in the world's affairs. In dealing with the position of the United States in this contest, it will appear that she enjoys many advantages inherent in the character of the race and the development of republican institutions, but that the very breadth of these advantages involves some impairment of the unity and force which belong to absolutism.

The question of the relative efficiency of the United States and her industrial rivals involves the factors of political organization, natural resources, economic power, and social development. Among the elements which reach into both the political and the economic field is the modern tendency toward concentration. The old maxim, "In union there is strength," is receiving a new meaning by the movement toward great empires in the political field and business consolidations

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in the economic field. The secret of Russia's present power is not the wealth of any single part of her domain, but the vast extent of the territory she rules; inspiring something of the feeling which Mr. Bryce says prevailed in the ancient world, that "as the dominion of Rome was universal, so it must be eternal." In any contest in diplomacy or in the field a consolidated empire is likely to prevail over a loose alliance of smaller rivals, because of its ability to strike heavily and quickly by consulting only a single controlling head. In the field of industry, also, the people which can draw upon a wide field at home for raw materials, and distribute them over a wide domestic market, without encountering the barriers of customs tariffs and differences in the organization of industry, will prevail over competitors whose narrower limits deprive them of the economies which are found in concentration.

The United States enters upon the conflict for world empire with a great advantage over the democracies of antiquity and over the smaller nations of Western Europe. The movement toward concentration of political power and the elimination of small governments has been advancing with rapid strides during the last two centuries. In Europe the partition of Poland, the union of Austria and Hungary, the realization of Italian unity, and the creation of the German Empire under the headship of Prussia are symptoms of the centrifugal movement which has extended from politics to industry. Later this principle was extended by the British occupation of Egypt, the absorption of Madagascar and Tunis by France, and the financial control of the Powers over Greece. And even within a year hints of German dominance in Holland, continued encroachments on the local rights of Finland, and the growth of the financial influence of Great Britain in Portugal have afforded new illustrations of this world tendency.

The United States is following in the Orient the same process of absorbing new territory which began with the organization of the Northwest Territory, the purchase of Louisiana, and the acquisition of Florida from its Spanish masters, and was continued by the absorption of the republic of Texas, the conquest of California, and, finally, the expulsion of Spain from Cuba and Porto Rico. While Russia advances with giant strides in Central Asia, the great Republic of the West is pursuing a similar destiny, and is tending to put herself upon an equal plane for the contest which Prof. Williams of Yale University so strikingly anticipates in the following passage:

"The machinery of the new centralization is certain to be more elastic as it

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will be more complex, the control will be less obvious and direct; but coördination of hitherto heterogeneous elements under some predominant power is apparently as inevitable and necessary now as it was then. In comparison with the vast extent of the new system the domain of ancient Rome shrinks to almost insignificant dimensions. The command of the habitable globe is for the first time in history possible to that power in whose hands are placed the resources that insure obedience, whose capital is the centre of exchanges. The area of its activities will embrace not Europe and the Mediterranean basin alone, but the six continents and their outlying islands; its mastership must be exercised alike in all countries."

The costs of preparation for the coming conflict are likely to be too heavy for any but the greater nations to bear. Italy and Spain are already sinking under the load of a military equipment out of proportion to their resources; and France, in spite of her steadily growing wealth, is assuming heavy burdens. The French ministry, in submitting the annual estimates in January last, proposed a scale of expenditure for new naval vessels amounting to 900,000,000 francs for the period of seven years ending with 1907.

Prof. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, in discussing the subject in "L'Économiste Français" of February 3, attributes this costly project to the aggressive imperialism of Great Britain in the Fashoda incident of a year ago, and declares for the benefit of the French people that the only consolation, if it is one, is that England will have to expend, if the South African war continues a little longer, three or four thousand millions of francs to subjugate or leave unsubjugated two tiny republics, and that it will be necessary to increase by three or four hundred million francs at least her permanent war budget. The German ministry has been struggling with a hesitating parliament to secure an almost equal expenditure; and the Russian Council of Ministers adopted not long ago a definite programme of naval increase extending over a period of years. The United States has lightly assumed additional taxes of $100,000,000 a year; and her people, except in isolated cases of ill-adjustment, scarcely feel the burden.

Concentration of power, in order to permit prompt and efficient action, will be an almost essential factor in the struggle for world empire, so far as the struggle is conducted in the political field. The people of the United States may have something to learn in this respect. A greater harmony of policy between the legislative and executive departments of the Government, and broad powers for the executive in dealing with foreign relations, need not be inconsistent with industrial liberty and the freedom of political discussion at home. In this field an absolute government, like that of Russia, enjoys some advantages in its ability to make quick decisions, and execute them without waiting for

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the slow ripening of public opinion. What is determined upon by the Czar and the Council of Ministers can be executed without consulting the slow and tedious processes of parliamentary legislation.

An illustration of the power which absolutism gives is afforded by the recent loan to Persia, made by the Russian Government in return for the control of the Persian customs, at the very moment when the difficulties of Great Britain in South Africa were most acute. It is well suggested by the "Moniteur des Intérêts Matériels," the Belgian financial journal, that neither Great Britain, in spite of her imperial policy, nor republican France would think of following such an example, and that even the German Empire drew back before the project of effective intervention on a recent occasion—the creation of railways in the Chinese province of Shantung. But the Russian Government, drawing from the limitless resources of international finance, through the medium of a new bank established in Persia, has been able, almost by the stroke of a pen and with only a trifling cost to the Imperial Treasury, even if the whole principal of the loan were lost, to acquire a dominant influence at the court of Teheran, which will make Persia a Russian camp in case of conflict with Great Britain over British India. Already, within a few weeks after the completion of the loan, it has been announced by a leading Russian journal that Russia will "rent" a Persian harbor (as she rented Port Arthur from China), in order to obtain an outlet to the Indian Ocean.

In a conflict between two opposing systems, such as organized absolutism and competitive democracy, it is the usual rule that each borrows what is best from the methods of the other. The autocracy which governs the Russian Empire appreciates the benefits of intellectual freedom sufficiently to gather around the Czar in the Council of Ministers some of the best educated, keenest, and most far-sighted minds in the world. Freedom of debate prevails in those gatherings as to the merits of proposed policies; and the Russian financial journals discuss with acuteness the economic maxims which should govern a progressive state. Thus, the highest intelligence is placed at the service of absolute power; and measures are perfected and blows are struck, in the field of economics or of diplomacy, which rarely have to be retraced. For a progressive democracy, like that of the United States, the lesson to be learned from absolutism is consolidation of kindred interests, unity of purpose, and promptness and energy in action. A democratic state, where education is widely diffused, ought at least to be as intelligent as a despotism in following the suggestions

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of its most enlightened statesmen, and, within the limits of national policy, in giving them free scope in counsel and action.

In the field of natural resources both the United States and Russia enjoy an important advantage over the older countries in their comparatively unexhausted coal supplies. A coal famine has prevailed on the European continent throughout the winter and spring; and it is having a serious effect upon the industries of Germany, and even of Great Britain. Coal is as vital a factor in the warfare of industries as in modern warfare on the ocean. It is not surprising, therefore, that the London "Economist" admits that "Europe's extremity is America's opportunity, and she is seizing it." The export of American coal to European markets has become a recognized business; and in its issue of February 24 the English journal just quoted declares that "America is now permanently established as a supplier of the foreign coaling stations."

Another vital point at which the equipment of the United States in respect to natural resources gives her a controlling advantage is in the food supply. The cultivation of great wheat areas has not been neglected in the development of manufacturing. The United States is not only self-sufficing in this respect, but, by means of scientific farming upon a large scale, she has been able to produce the staple agricultural products as cheaply as any other nation. Thus, in entering upon the domain of manufacturing for world competition, she starts with unexhausted fields of coal and adequate supplies of food at her elbow. She is hampered neither by the lack of proper distribution of her laboring force between manufactures and agriculture—like some of her European rivals—nor by high prices of land, which tend, by increasing the cost of food, to raise the labor cost of production, while diminishing at the same time in other directions the consuming power of the laborer.

Turning to the field of economic and social forces, it will be seen that, in the structure of her industrial system, the United States has little to fear from her foreign rivals. The elements of successful industrial competition, as already pointed out, are found in the use of capital at the lowest rental price, the division of labor to that extent which secures the highest efficiency in the individual and in the aggregate of individuals, the cheapest means of transportation, and the concentration of industry to just the point which secures the largest output at the smallest cost.

This list of the elements necessary for competitive production de-

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pends upon another factor of surpassing importance, which dominates all the rest. This is the efficiency of the directing mind—what the French call the *entrepreneur*. It is not proposed here to discuss the question whether the *entrepreneur*, under the existing organization of society, obtains a disproportionate share of the earnings of labor. What is vital to a competing nation is that the rewards of his position, whether large or small, should be sufficient to attract the minds of the most intense application and the highest creative order. The results might perhaps be obtained while greatly diminishing the present scale of rewards and imposing heavier burdens of taxation upon accumulated wealth. But the necessity of an *entrepreneur* of the highest capacity will be more vital to industrial success in the future than it has ever been in the past, when competition was confined within limited markets protected by local legislation.

It is in this field of ability for intense application, combination of ideas, and organization upon a large scale, that the traditions of centuries of political freedom and comparative economic freedom have given supremacy to the Anglo-Saxon peoples, and especially to the Americans. With them has been realized most fully that process of social development which Mr. Kidd declares tends to raise the rivalry between individuals to the very highest degree of efficiency as a condition of progress, by allowing the freest possible play of forces within the community and the widest possible opportunities for the development of every individual's faculties and personality. It is the result of this process which makes the American people easily masters in those fields which they seriously enter.

Among the elements which have enabled the American manufacturer to get a footing in these fields has been the same economy and efficiency resulting from concentration which make the larger states more potent than the smaller in the domain of world politics. It is not concentration alone which has produced the results, but the skill with which such combinations have been handled. This is the justification of the trust, so far as it can find justification. In so far as a trust or great business enterprise has succeeded, without the control of some natural monopoly or the abuse of legislation, it has usually been the result of the superior organizing ability and foresight in its directing mind. Success has been the test of efficiency. The incompetent trust manager is driven to the wall, where competition, at home or abroad, is within the range of possibility, more quickly than the inefficient manager of a small trade.

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The triumph of the industrial leader over his fellows by the natural processes of competition is, therefore, a direct contribution to the competing power of the nation. More and more, with the widening of the world market, the fluctuations of demand and supply, and the necessity of managing great financial operations, the captain of industry needs to possess all the genius for combination, foresight, and promptness of action which characterize those generals who are successful in the field.

That this ability for organization is a serious factor in modern competition is coming to be generally recognized by producers and economists. Baron Mourre, in his suggestive book, "D'où vient la Décadence économique de la France?" cites the many proofs that French exports and French wealth are falling behind those of Germany and Great Britain in relative growth. He inquires, "What are the causes of this inferiority?" and makes this answer:

> "It is probably not that our laborers are much more incapable or more indolent than German or English workmen, but that our manufacturers direct them less efficiently and employ antiquated processes, which permit only an inadequate production."

In this respect the United States stands admittedly at the head. The organization of her great industries constitutes, as Prof. Sherwood declares in the "Yale Review," for February, "the American solution" of the problem of meeting the demands of the world market by a high type of organization. The operation of the competitive system in forcing the ablest minds to the highest degree of exertion, in order to obtain the greatest quantum of desirable results by the smallest relative expenditure of energy, is its distinguishing advantage over the socialistic system in any of its forms. State direction of industry, useful sometimes in the infancy of technical education, and the creation of monopolies by legislation will always give way, other conditions being equal, to the results of private industry and enterprise. No means can be found for giving to the members of a bureaucracy the motive of competitive self-interest which strains to its utmost tension the mind of the industrial chief.

The limits of state socialism are clearly marked at the point where greater efficiency ceases to be obtained on the whole by the methods of government control and ownership. Such ownership may perhaps be extended in the future to railways and the telegraph, because the advantages of uniformity of system and charges and the certainty of impartiality between competitors outweigh the expensive methods of

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bureaucracy. But the moment that state socialism undertakes to supersede the individual initiative in enterprises which are not of a quasi-public character, the society adopting them will sentence itself to economic decline. It will no longer offer a premium to its best minds to achieve the utmost that can be achieved in improving methods of production. While at first its products may appear to compete upon equal terms with those of other nations, the gradual hardening of routine, the retention of inefficient machinery, and the absence of the spur of prizes to inventors and to the captains of industry will impair its competitive machinery, increase the cost of its product, and drive it from international markets.

If a wall is erected by fiscal policy high enough to exclude competition from abroad, such a socialistic state would gradually drop astern in the race for industrial prizes. With growing impoverishment, the flight of foreign capital, the increasing burden of taxation, the steady decline in the surplus available for the employment of the professional classes, for the encouragement of art, and for the development of the comfort of the masses it would descend lower and lower in the scale of civilization—at first relatively to its advancing rivals, and finally in relation to its own past.

In so far as the combination of capital or labor tends to stifle reasonable competition and create monopoly, it tends to threaten the efficiency of a nation's competing power. Only upon the ground of paramount advantages in other respects can such monopoly be justified. If it be true, as declared by a critic of the Building Trades Council of Chicago, in speaking of trades unions in Great Britain and the United States, that "the essence of trades unionism to-day there and here is the destruction of freedom of contract and the establishment of state socialism and special privilege," this fact in itself is a serious menace to the competing power of American production. Trade unions and combinations of labor have done much to raise the standard of living among the laboring men, to secure to labor an equality of rights with capital, and thereby to increase the consuming power and the efficiency of the masses in the community. The benefits of such combinations cease when their policy and methods tend to restrict producing power, to put the incompetent and slothful upon a level with the competent and energetic, and to stifle individual initiative.

While the limits of state socialism and industrial combination are thus clearly marked, and cannot be crossed without economic disas-

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ter, the principle of the division of labor will justify the intervention of the state in many matters where intervention has heretofore been condemned upon the strict principle of *laisser aller*. The governing principle of such a policy should be the demonstrated benefits of state action. These benefits may be found in many works which would never be undertaken upon individual initiative, or would be inadequately performed, because the returns to any single individual would not be a sufficient compensation for the expenditure. Where the mere gathering of information is concerned, like the work of statistical bureaus and the creation of trade commissions, the real question involved is the relative importance of the return to the community obtained from a given expenditure. If the appointment of a commission of inquiry, the support of a technical school, or the public endowment of professional scholarships promises compensating results upon the quality and quantity of industrial product and competing power, the benefits are likely to be felt by the whole community, including the professional classes, whose earnings are increased by the surplus of the savings of the capitalistic and laboring classes.

If it is desirable that the supreme productive power of the best minds should be applied to industry, it is of great importance that the rewards of industry should be as great and as honorable as those of any other calling. These rewards should be ranked by public opinion as high as those achieved in government, literature, or art. There is little danger of a conflict between commercialism and the higher ideals under such conditions, so long as the life-blood of productive energy and moral purpose flows freely from the heart to the extremities of society. There will always be a group of men whose members will forswear the pecuniary rewards of industrial activity for the gratifications of intellectual and artistic labor, if the surplus earnings of the community will afford them a dignified and comfortable maintenance. The process of natural selection can be trusted to divert in this direction the minds best fitted for such pursuits, while leaving to the organizing executive minds the pursuit of industrial rewards.

The greatest periods in literature and art among civilized peoples have almost always been those when they were winning victories on the field and in the workshop. It was thus with Athens in the age of Pericles, and with Rome in the age of Augustus. Their intellectual life attained its highest development at the same moment as their industrial life, so far as the latter obtained a footing in ancient

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slave-holding societies. It was the same in the France of Louis XIV and in the England of Elizabeth. The outburst of industrial energy and the contest for world empire were accompanied by the highest intellectual achievements, among which were the masterpieces of the French and British drama. To the same great age which witnessed the colonization of America and the opening of India belong the names of Turenne and Marlborough in the field, of Colbert and Bacon in constructive statesmanship, of Molière and Shakespeare in literature.

The United States enters upon the field of world competition with peculiar advantages in respect to the motives which determine the direction of her intellectual development. The very complaint of many reformers, that the ablest minds neglect those official spheres once considered most honorable in order to assume the management of factories, insurance companies, banks, and railways is one of the results of the dignity of labor in America. It is not desirable in a modern state that there should be a waste of forces upon the machinery of government. It has been by the natural evolution of events that the majority in state legislatures and in Congress have ceased to be the leaders of public opinion.

Public opinion is no longer formed by debates in Congress, but by the expression of expert opinion through the press. When public opinion reaches the state of decision on an important subject, it is registered more effectively by an obedient majority than would be the case if scores of experts and economists split hairs over abstractions before putting a law upon the statute book. The abstract discussion which leads to the ripening of opinion takes place outside of legislatures. If more of the highest constructive and executive ability could be devoted to the service of the state, legislatures might realize a more impressive and dignified ideal than at present; but the diversion of too many of the best minds to such a service might involve an economic waste which would react disastrously upon the real interests of the country in its competition with foreign rivals.

The people of the United States, by devoting their best talent to industry and commerce, and minimizing to some degree the honors of public service, escape another danger which impairs the competing power of their European rivals. This is the entombment of some of the highest capacity of the country in the barren service of arms. It is absolutely essential that every nation should be able to protect its independence and its national interests in the struggle for commercial

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empire, which may cause many appeals to arms in the future. But that nation which is able to maintain its military efficiency with the smallest possible subtraction from its resources for industrial development will be the strongest competitor.

It is not, perhaps, the most serious fetter upon the competitive power of the European countries that their people give up a large part of their earnings for the military establishment. This can be afforded without suffering by the richer nations, in view of the greatly increased productive power of the race under modern conditions. As Prof. Edmond Théry points out in "L'Economiste Européen," of January 19, an increase of 97 per cent in the taxes collected from the people of France between 1869 and 1898, while the population remained nearly stationary, has been accompanied by great improvements in public education, in asylums, in institutions of philanthropy and coöperation, and the wages of labor have risen from 50 to 60 per cent above their average a generation ago. The fatal effect of the policy of militarism, which is draining the vitality of the continental states of Europe, is not the direct cost in money, but the persistence of the mediæval idea that the display of gold lace or the bearing of civil titles is more honorable than distinction in the fields of industry. It is this idea which shuts up the keenest and most ambitious minds in the narrow treadmill of official routine or military ostentation, and withdraws them from their truest service to humanity.

Of transcendent importance also in the struggle for industrial supremacy is the keeping open to all classes of the paths which lead to the highest industrial rewards. It was one of the misfortunes of the Roman state that trade and industry were treated as unfit for freemen, just as they are disparaged to-day in the military courts of Europe. But a deeper evil than this was the stratification of society. Among the genuine Romans, especially under the empire, social classes hardened into castes; and the ablest and most ambitious minds could find no escape from the class into which they were born. Mr. Dill, in his interesting work on "Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire," sets forth in striking language the manner in which the various city traders and the carriers of grain from Sicily, Spain, and Egypt to Rome were shut within their class, and how completely the food service of the city broke down when it was no longer in the power of the state to maintain this forced and unnatural stratification of society.

It is no new discovery on the part of Mr. Dill that this binding of

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classes by iron barriers was the ruin of the Roman state. It is the testimony of Mommsen, the great German historian of Rome, and of Léon, in his "Histoire des Corporations de Métiers." According to Léon, "The craftsman was riveted to his trade like the convict to his chain. Nothing in theory could withdraw him from this yoke. The Emperor himself was forbidden to grant him release." Every industry was organized into guilds; and in some cases a man could not marry the daughter of a craftsman without being compelled to adopt his father-in-law's trade. It is not surprising that under such a system merchants should have fled from the great centres of commerce with the object of escaping the special taxes on their calling; nor is it surprising that, under such conditions of embryo state socialism, the Roman state, decaying at the top, lost its vitality, and that when the barriers of caste were finally broken down by the rude swords of Goths and Vandals, there were, as Gibbon so tersely says, "no longer any proper Romans left to defend her."

A similar experience was that of Athens, where her robust democracy, gradually stratified into rigid classes, died at the top, and fell before the vigorous march of the soldiers of Macedon. In France, it was the great mistake of Colbert that he strove to organize the people into classes, and to give a fictitious splendor to French industry by conferring the privileges of monopoly on a few showy manufactures. The guilds or corporations came to impose unbearable fetters upon the life of French industry, and contributed their share to the impoverishment which was sinking interior France to the level of barbarism while wealth and wit shone resplendent at the courts of Louis XIV and Louis XV. As Taine interprets the observation of Arthur Young, who traversed the country just before the Revolution, never was there a society with "a heart so vigorous and extremities so benumbed." Such a society could not live to-day in competition with a democratic industrial commonwealth, where equality of burdens and equality of opportunity afford the strongest stimulus to the activity of the race by offering the highest prize to the greatest achievement.

Turgot only anticipated the effect of the relentless competition of modern times when he tried to abolish the corporations and to open to every Frenchman the pathway for seeking his own future in his own way, before the blood of the Revolution swept away social and political distinctions in France, and enabled her to stand forth, in spite of the frightful drain of Napoleon's campaigns, as a competitor of

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modern industrial nations. If England was already the leader in this competition, and France lagged behind, it was largely as Mr. Hobson declares, in "The Evolution of Modern Capitalism," because she, more than any other European nation, had broken down the old industrial order, with its guilds, its elaborate restrictions, and its conservative methods. Personal freedom, security of property, liberty to work and live where and how one liked, existed in England to an extent unknown on the Continent.

It is a well settled rule of social development that any society which has ceased to feel the spur of need and ambition has begun to decay. The man who has become rich ceases to devote the same relentless energy and minute care to his business as he did when he was poor. Even if hardened habits keep him at the treadmill, his children are bred in a different school, and are only rarely his efficient successors in the fields of finance and industry. Even if every one of them should be, the statistics of births and deaths show that the upper classes in any fixed society steadily decline in number in ratio to the lower classes and finally die out. Only when new blood is constantly poured into the so-called "upper" grades of society from beneath does its vitality remain unimpaired. The attempt to stratify society, whether it comes from above or beneath—whether it is in the interest of a blooded or moneyed aristocracy, or of organized labor or socialism—is to put the bar sinister upon national life, and to sentence a state to fall gradually behind in the race for commercial and political empire, until it sinks a helpless prey to its more democratic and vigorous rivals. Painful as it may be to patrician prejudices, it is the constant change in social classification—the success of the new comers, the decay of old families—which keeps the life-blood of a nation flowing freely from the heart to the extremities. In the words quoted by Prof. Leroy-Beaulieu, in his "Traité d'Économie Politique," "One hears constantly the sound of polished boots descending, of wooden shoes mounting upward."

To the Anglo-Saxons, by the historical evolution of events, has been committed this cause of modern social progress. Imperfectly as they may have conceived it, clumsily and with much travail as they may perform it, it is a task which they cannot escape unless the world is to sink backward into another long night like that of the Dark Ages. It is a mission of the highest altruism, in which commercial and economic forces play a part only because economic efficiency is the fruit of freedom, and the people of the highest moral

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ideals are those capable of doing the most in the world. The function of the highly developed peoples, as Prof. Walter F. Willcox pointed out, at the March meeting of the Washington Economic Society, is to teach labor-saving devices and efficient methods of production to the less advanced peoples, to the end that every part of the world may yield its increase in the largest measure for humanity. In pursuance of this work, it is not the duty of the Anglo-Saxons to force their policies by the sword upon reluctant rivals; but it is their duty to accept, without regret or turning back, the responsibilities which come to them, and to insist that the policies of absolutism and exclusion shall not usurp fields where free competition and equality of opportunity now prevail or may be reasonably established.

The position of the United States as a factor in international politics makes it more important now than in her earlier history that she should pursue a continuous and resolute diplomatic policy. A resolute policy does not by any means imply the sort of hysterical bullying which has sometimes marked our attitude towards weaker nations, but simply a firm insistence upon respect for American rights, and the readiness to sustain these rights, if necessary, by force. The struggle for the maintenance of free markets and equality of opportunity in the undeveloped countries will involve tactful diplomacy, firmness tempered by extreme discretion, and readiness to act promptly and efficiently in case of need. The United States can no longer afford to have an amateur consular and diplomatic service, or to have it suspected that her policy will change with the change of parties at home. That party will most commend itself to the business community for its sincerity as the advocate of extending our national influence and competing power which does the most to increase the efficiency of the consular and diplomatic service, by lifting it out of politics. In this direction, as in all others, the highest efficiency will turn the scale between nations; and this efficiency is usually won in diplomacy, as in the technical arts, by training and knowledge. At the most critical moments, the political party which represents a well-formulated and resolute policy will command the support of those who believe in the maintenance of the position of the United States as a world power. This will not preclude changes of political control; and there will no doubt be moments when temporary discontent with the party of a constructive policy will place its opponents in office.

These intervals of the success of the parliamentary opposition

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should be limited, as far as possible, to periods of arrested progress rather than absolute retrogression. Great Britain encountered such periods under the timid policy of Mr. Gladstone; but even he was forced by events to assume a protectorate for Great Britain over Egypt, and to do other things, as a responsible minister, which would have invited his philippics, if he had enjoyed the freedom of an opposition leader. But England is coming to understand how vital is the maintenance of her position before the world, and how completely settled are some of the old issues which once divided parties. In the United States, also, the old issues are shrivelling up. They have either been settled and sent to the lumber-room of the political theatre, or have been tinged with strange, new light by the flash of Dewey's guns in the Bay of Manila. Events are opening the way for a new alignment of parties, in which the party of a continuous national policy, pledged to keep open the world markets upon conditions of equal opportunity, will command the support not alone of the business community, but of all far-seeing men who desire the perpetuation of the ideals of Anglo-Saxon civilization. CHARLES A. CONANT.

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CHILD-STUDY AND ITS RELATION TO EDUCATION.

CHILD-STUDY or paidology, often confused with psychogenesis, of which it constitutes a large part, is a new movement which has been well under way hardly a decade. It is already represented by a bibliography of some two thousand titles, including only the books and articles well worth reading, and not comprising the yet larger mass of chaff; by two journals in this country devoted exclusively to it, and by several more which make it a department; by three journals in Germany, two in France, one each in England, Italy, Japan, Russia, and Spain.

Paidology either forms a department, or appears on the programme of most of the leading psychological, philosophical, and educational societies. Its work is supported from the treasury of several of the largest States. Sometimes, as, for example, in New York city, it is a topic in the annual school reports; and expert investigations are paid for out of the municipal treasury. There are several academic chairs devoted mainly or exclusively to it; and I opine that it enters somewhat into the instruction of nearly every course of study that deals with the human mind. There are organizations with which I have been in correspondence in India, South America, Russia, Spain, and Australia; and circles or groups exist in almost every civilized or colonized land.

Studies of child life among the North American Indians, Australian tribes, the Zulus, Chinese, clay-eaters, Kaffirs, Maoris, Arabs, Samoyads, ancient Greeks and Romans, etc., are found in periodicals or publishers' announcements. Child-study forms a section or a part of the work of nearly all the leading women's clubs, summer schools, and organizations of Sunday-school teachers. It is a movement that has been extensively felt in literature, as witness the many books on childhood noticed during the last few years in the journals I edit; and it is even a frequent topic in the daily, weekly, and, especially, the Sunday newspaper press. Teachers of all grades, mothers of all degrees of culture, pupils in colleges and normal schools fill out ques-

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tionnaires, and perhaps meet to compare results and to report the latest magazine literature upon the subject. I have received some two thousand letters—either unacknowledged or inadequately answered—from all parts of the world, asking how to organize local work, requesting suggestions for reading, or very often seeking advice concerning children. A private secretary devoted solely to this work could do beneficent service; and perhaps a new profession might arise, which might be indicated by some such term as psychic orthopedics or pediatrics.

The teachers foremost in the work are usually the best among the younger men and women, and the academic representation is naturally strongest among those who have not developed the conservatism of age. This, of course, is auspicious, because the ideals of young men and women are proverbially the best material for prophecy. It is obvious that there is often enthusiasm without knowledge, and also that there are a great many camp followers and faddists in the child-study movement, such as are to be found in the wake of all movements when they assume certain proportions. On the other hand, while the work has had plenty of attacks, often bitter and virulent, it has so far had no competent criticism. Like a new planet, it has disturbed the circles of the systematizers, who live and move in the sphere of definitions, and lay down the law for sciences new and old, like surveyors plotting imaginary streets, or policemen enforcing city rules in the country. But critics such as these have so far uniformly violated Coleridge's sensible adage, that we should see to it that we are not ignorant of an author's understanding before we attempt to understand his ignorance. The defenders of things as they are and the leaders of the rear guard of conservatism, who a few years ago poured out their vials of wrath and contempt, are already in various stages of compromise and adjustment.

It is a nondescript and, in some sense, an unparalleled movement—partly psychology, partly anthropology, partly medico-hygiene. It is closely related at every step to the study of instinct in animals, and to the rites and beliefs of primitive people; and it has a distinct ethico-philosophical aspect—partly what a recent writer classed as the higher biology—with a spice of folk-lore and of religious evolution, sometimes with an alloy of gossip and nursery tradition, but possessing a broad, practical side in the pedagogy of all stages. It has all the advantages and the less grave disadvantages of its many-sidedness.

The point of view of the pedagogue, and also of the psychologist, is

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like that of the one-ninth of an iceberg visible above water, and each often marvels, especially if hostile, that it goes nearly as well straight in the teeth of his disfavor and indifferently with or against the wind of his approval, because he does not see the submerged eight-ninths of it controlled by the currents of a denser medium. An able classifier and over-systematizer deplores that pedagogy "wants to marry psychology." He is belated; they were made one years ago. The physician, who weighs and measures, tests eyes, ears, etc., is hardly in sight of the philologist, who studies the development of language in the child's speech; and neither knows nor cares much for the unfoldment of the child's sense of self, fear, anger, superstition, nascent periods of interest, capacity, etc.

The uniqueness of the situation consists thus in the new direction and focalization of many scientific departments and methods upon one object, some of which have never before had even this bond of union. Again, the coöperation of the eminent professorial expert with the utterly untrained parent or primary teacher—so that each has an interest in the same matter, and the former awaits the latter's publication with both a filial and a proprietary interest—is a novelty shocking to the esoteric instincts traditional in academic life. It is not strange, therefore, if excessive hopes and fears have been aroused.

One of the oldest objections against child-study, now very rarely heard, is that it is liable to interfere in some way with the *naïveté* of children, and to make them self-conscious. A few years ago I heard a prominent professor declare, with great emphasis, before an audience of applauding Boston school-masters, that, as for his own children, they should never be mentally vivisected; that they should be loved, not studied, etc. "All that I have to say out of my deepest heart is, simply, I do not believe in it." A prominent New York daily about that time, with most sensational headlines, accused a leading professor of Columbia of subjecting his own children to research, as if it were a new and diabolical species of torture. I lately saw in a yellow journal of Chicago an illustrated account of a Normal School girl who wanted to fill out a questionnaire on crying, and who, after waiting in vain for a fortnight, until her composition was due, actually pinched her baby brother's ear to get material.

I am ready to take this in all seriousness, and say candidly that if such studies injure ever so little the very few observed for the benefit of the very many we have no adequate warrant for this work. However precious the scientific results, they would be bought at too dear a

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price. Better a millstone about our necks, and we in the sea, than that we offend the little ones in this way. But the truth is the exact opposite. The best data are gathered as one of the offices of love, with a view to making the tender influences of parents or of school, or of both, more effective; and I cannot think that instincts generally so true are here perverted.

Love and study in this field, as in that of natural science, instead of interfering with, strengthen each other. Not only are we better parents and teachers for both knowing and doing this work, but those who fail to utilize it are neglecting some of the most urgent new duties of a new age. I have received hundreds of letters from parents, who, for the most part, express gratitude that they have learned from it things of vital importance for the welfare of their children; and I could spend much of my time in testing psychical qualities and applying results for parents who write to me or call on me for help about their children. I cannot believe that all these people have perverted instincts in wanting their children investigated, or that those who express gratitude do so because the mind is enlightened, or seeks to become so, at the expense of the heart.

I have selected fifty topics which seem to me as valuable and representative as any; and in only one of these can there be any question concerning injury or inconvenience in the work of collecting data. There have been studies of very delicate questions; but I know of no case where, even in such instances, precautions were not taken that would satisfy a critic, even if he were constitutionally sentimental or disposed to be sensational.

In the majority of my fifty topics the children never suspect, from first to last, that they are being observed at all, as, *e. g.*, in plays and games, signs of fatigue, automatic movements, positions of the hand, cases of imitation, infant's creeping. In other cases they tap, press a dynamometer, count lines, put a needle through a small hole, read different types a few minutes, name their favorite story, are tested for defects of the eye, ear, power of speech, are weighed, measured, etc. In other topics, like fear, the very calling of attention to these psychoses, which have often secretly haunted adolescence for years, has, in itself, helped toward their dissipation and control, and aided pitiable cases toward what Aristotle said is the definition of education itself—"Learning to fear aright."

What more pathetic object in the world can there be than a misunderstood child? As the elective system is working its way down

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toward high, and even grammar, school grades, it becomes more important to fit it to the nature and needs of individual children, in order that the school may become a life-and-career-saving institution. Very strange to say, only those whose philosophy is ultra-introspective fear self-consciousness or interference with the naturalness of children. Self-knowledge is a very different thing from self-consciousness; and it is only from the former standpoint that the highest study of mankind is man, and that next to the highest is childhood. There is here a new duty, which is neglected by parents who do not love their children intelligently enough to study them.

Again, some critics have objected to this part of the work—that matter collected by untrained observers can have no value. They ignore, however, the obvious difference between the gathering of raw material and the manufacture of it into forms of value, processes as distinct as the work of the quarryman and the sculptor. Almost any intelligent mother can tell me whether her child has a passion for collecting buttons, bottles, or postage stamps; whether it is attended by imaginary companions; what kind of dolls it plays with; when it cut its first teeth; what mistakes it makes most frequently in addition; what diseases it has had; what are its favorite toys and games. The more skilful can collect data on intense and chronic fears, on manifestations of anger, imitations, automatisms, excessive blushing, number forms; can measure or weigh; can answer a few questions on laughing and crying, creeping, the senses, motor power, only children, the development of language, and many other topics.

The four largest anthropological societies—those of England, France, Germany, and Italy—have each issued little hand-books directing untrained observers who may happen to be among savage races how to collect more complicated data than these, including even vocabularies, religious rites and ideas, and social institutions; and the savants make large use of returns from such sources. A little practice with such material, aided by some experience in collecting data upon the subject, enables the expert frequently to master the sometimes rather difficult problem of the sources of error, to weed it out, boil data down, and in some cases transform it as much as the watch-spring maker metamorphoses the crude ore of the miner into products of a very high value.

It may be somewhat as the physician consults the mother about his patient, or the judge questions an unlettered witness. In general, however, the critics do those who make returns great injustice and

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dispraise. Among some scores of thousands of returns which I have dealt with, directly or indirectly, many are from leading college professors, more from college graduates, and very many from students. From considerable practice others have developed very rare skill in getting valuable data from their students. No one can begin to appreciate the difficulties in this field or the methods by which they are successfully overcome who has not himself had considerable experience with the work. It is an expert problem, in which the opinions of experts only have value.

Mixed in with the best, there is, indeed, material that is more chaffy than any antagonist I know of has sampled. Perhaps I go too far in holding that, where the quality of work in a great and new field, like this, ranges all the way from utter worthlessness to the very highest value, a critic with real magnanimity would select the best; but I maintain that not only the animus, but also the ability, of a critic is indicated by the grade of work he attacks. Here any one can vanquish to absurdity the weaklings, but no one can impugn the best. I sympathize somewhat with the abler critics in such success as they achieve in the modest task of showing up sub-average work. Like the reformation, or evolution itself, although as yet not comparable in depth and breadth with these great culture movements, genetic psychology has taken a strong hold upon the popular mind, and has enlisted a crowd of camp-followers—some for profit and repute, as the movement gathers breadth and momentum, and others, utterly untrained, whose enthusiasm prompts them to attempt things beyond their power. On the whole I have felt hitherto that perhaps the wheat and tares might best grow together a while longer, lest modest merit be discouraged; and I even fail to see why it is more absurd to show a baby to a class in psychology than to one of medical students, if the conditions chance to favor.

The foregoing objections will never influence those who have come into personal contact with the work itself. Not so perhaps another criticism of late strenuously urged; viz., that child-study should be a tool, a vehicle for the study of the human mind in general, or at best a new path of entrance into the old field of general human adult psychology. The distinction is plain, and the matter of little practical or scientific importance; but the position taken is mistaken.

First, we have a large group of psychic facts, that vanish long before maturity is attained, and leave no sign. The swimming and climbing movements of infants, child fetiches, many of the phenomena

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of crying and weeping, dolls, shudders, and fears, as of too big teeth, eyes, and fur, imaginary companions, speech forms, some expressions of anger, toys, creeping, some of the number forms—these and many others can be studied only in childhood; for, like some rudimentary organs, they vanish before maturity. They involve profound questions unknown to the psychologist who concerns himself with adult life only. The development and subsequent decadence of these phenomena seem to constitute a stimulus for the growth of the next higher powers that supersede them. Here we have many unique problems. The genetic standpoint is radically different in that it cross-sections all the results of introspective adult psychology, and is, moreover, to my mind, larger than the logical or any other.

Indeed, after years of reflection, I have grown to the exact opposite view, and am maintaining elsewhere at length that the current adult psychology must be subordinate to the genetic somewhat as the species so carefully established by pre-Darwinian biologists were mobilized and unified by larger evolutionary conceptions. Higher than the logical I rank the developmental explanations of things. Our introspective methods are provincial, and give scanty glimpses of the vastly larger whence and whither. The establishment of true evolutionary sequences which trace familiar psychic facts and processes back to their earlier and lower forms, and thereby show us direction, suggests what may be called the idealism of true prophecy, and a method which even in ethics seems destined to supplant the idolatry of the mystic, underived, Kantean imperative, and gives even to our duties something of the momentum of the same central forces that have evolved man from the amœba.

Sometimes it is said that it makes no difference in a system of ideas like psychology as to how many persons hold any particular idea. This is obvious. Truth is not affected by majorities; and it is utterly indifferent to a science like chemistry or biology how many people know the various items of it. This, however, is a view that is both irrelevant and exiguous here. Just as the distributions of animals and plants form legitimate chapters in zoölogy and botany, or as the universality of categories and the catholicity of religious ideas have their place in philosophy and theology respectively, just so the frequency of myopia, morbid fears, words and vocabularies, and all the rest have their acknowledged place.

The distribution of any content of consciousness is just as properly a part of psychology as the topography or numerical extent of

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species is for biology. The genesis of thought in childhood is, in this aspect, a radically different, and even far more important, problem than the frequency of occurrence of chance scraps and isolated items of knowledge in the adult mind. Indeed, the order of genesis is as important a problem, generally, as the logical order, and for some purposes more so. It makes a difference of great psychological significance, I ween, whether theories made up of an unique *mélange* of Fichte and Schopenhauer and Wundt remain absolutely unique, and peculiar to their authors, or commend themselves to other minds. Nay more, though it may perturb an epistemologist, I insist that even ignorance is an interesting and important topic, and that the growing literature upon it has much psychological value.

Some of the most interesting studies of children are those which show their characteristic defects, errors, or ignorance. As Professors Tracy, Lukens, and Grant have shown, the mispronunciations of children shed unique and valuable light upon vowel changes, phonic laws, dialects, etc. Their typical errors in reasoning help us not only to understand, and therefore to overcome, some of the obstacles that lie athwart their pathway to learning, but explain the origin of not a few current fallacies and superstitions. Their capacities and incapacities have suggested the best of the newer ways of work with number and geometric form. Their drawings, superstitions, early color work, perception, and tastes, even such as might be studies from examination papers, are documents of value for both psychology and education; and the best warrant for any new method, whether of the three R's or of a modern or an ancient language, is based upon a correct knowledge and interpretation of the content and method of the child mind.

In the hesitation we sometimes see in the philosophic mind to welcome child-study, we have to recognize clearly a repetition of the same kind of reluctance which the old systematizers and classifiers in the study of natural history felt toward the acceptance of the Darwinian movement. It sadly disturbed their circles; and the work of placing like to like, and of analysis and synthesis, was so different from the work required in the new field that they could hardly be expected to enter the promised land.

Too many of our philosophers and psychologists have been book-ridden—content to distinguish and divide and evolve an arm-chair theory of knowledge. It is due to their lack of earnestness, their easy-going conservatism, their *a-priori* and scholastic ways, that we

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still have no philosophy of education, save only the rags and tatters of systems, and that the whole field has so long been a cave of the winds. They have looked askance at, or down upon, education, or have carved out tunnels in the air, instead of going to work with the hard and hot facts of life and mind, and helping, if not to carry evolution into the higher plane of the soul by the same tedious modes of accumulation that Darwin's genius suggested, at least to find or forge master keys to unlock new secrets of the soul.

These medicine men of the higher order assume that youth must be more or less completely flayed of all the creed of childhood, and of native common sense, which they especially abhor; and that, instead of molting naturally of themselves when ripe, children must be given a veneering made by some special recipe against the great epistemological spook called doubt. If not assuming with Descartes that infancy is useless and that animals are mere machines, they whip up a phase of adolescent metamorphosis into an over-elaborated cult certain to rank beside scholasticism and sophism when seen in historic perspective. These men and this philosophy are as void of use and help for teachers as for all the other purposes of life. It is essentially an exotic and un-American thing which prates of "this country's greatest enemy, vulgarity," and derides our national muse, common sense, as dear to us as is *Gemüth* to the German or *esprit* to the Frenchman. To disinfect the minds and work of teachers of all traces of this kind of philosophizing and psychologizing is a beneficent service. It is very true and very fortunate that psychology, as these men understand and define it, has no bearing upon the teacher's work.

Much is written about the methods as if they were rivals. This can never be, for all methods are good. Some, like Preyer, Shinn, Moore, and Baldwin, prefer to focus their work upon one or two children, and to bring to this focus the best they can from the anthropometric, physiological, philological, psychological, and, perhaps, other fields. This is as legitimate as it is to study plants or animals from the standpoint of chemistry, biology, physics, etc.; but experts excel in only one or two lines, and the monographs under this class have their weak as well as their strong points. Moreover, one must adhere very closely to a plain and painstaking record of facts here; hoping that, through the accumulation of a vast body of data, inferences of value may some time be drawn.

One of the above-mentioned authors may perhaps come to stand as a striking illustration of the danger of drawing general conclusions

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and building speculative conclusions upon a monopaidic basis. We have several interesting memoirs devoted to the very detailed and monographic study of a single case of some typical form of insanity; and the very elaborate application of the method of many sciences to the study of Zola's personality, which lately appeared, suggests a new factor in biographic work. The work done on Casper Hauser, Laura Bridgeman, and the Juke family, illustrates the method.

Another method is to select a single topic or question, and gather data upon it from many children. This, obviously, affords the expert —whether he be a student of language, of the eye or ear, of psychology or pedagogy—a chance to focus more sharply upon one special subject, of scores of which every child is a collection. Some, like Barnes, Boaz, Bowditch, do their best work here by gathering data from very large numbers; others limit themselves to one or a few dozen for more careful work, like Ament, Starbuck, etc. Some, like Miss Williams, Wiltse, Small, etc., do best by gathering material for the express purpose of one topic; while others, led by Principal Russell, collect salient facts of all sorts and let them naturally group themselves about topics later.

Here, perhaps, I might instance my own studies of fears, anger, dolls, laughing and crying, a sense of self, children's collections, contents of their minds on entering school, etc. The object here is to make what Bacon would call a *silva silvarium*, or a large collection of actual facts, and later to group them according to sex, age, etc., so as to present something a little like a composite photograph of the subject. Each individual life is in most respects so limited in its experience that the enlargement of these themes by the comparative method brings out many new and unsuspected features, and is remotely analogous to the use of the microscope.

The simple reading of a copious anthology of well-made and sifted records is for me not only most interesting, but among the most instructive of all forms of psychological literature. It brings one in contact with life on a larger scale; brings out in strong colors what was latent in individual experience; and enriches and amplifies one's knowledge of human nature. I do not wonder that in some normal schools and colleges these bare data, properly grouped and ordered, take the place of text-book instruction. They resemble the physician's personal acquaintance with a rich casuistic material in a hospital of general cases.

Upon the value of the genetic movement for psychology I shall not

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dwell here, but shall pass to the much-discussed question of its utility for teachers. If psychology be conceived epistemologically as dealing with inner facts primarily non-spacial—that can never be communicated, described, or measured, that have meaning and value only when transformed according to logical ideals which seek an expression of reality sharply demarcated with water-tight compartments from art, history, physiology, and life itself, so that it might almost be called a psychology devitalized, or versus life—then every teacher in the land may well breathe a sigh of relief to be told that his work is strictly anti-psychological, and that he has not the slightest use for this science.

This utter divorce is, if possible, still further justified if teaching be conceived solely as instruction, or the lodgment of knowledge in mental receptacles, with no reference to methods, or to the predispositions, interests, capacities, etc., of the pupil. However much this may violate the oldest and perhaps most cherished American tradition, that the mental and moral sciences must define the goal and carefully work out the methods of both text-books and class work, we must submit as victims of these new and jejune definitions that triangulate so many vast mental spaces.

From such conceptions, however valuable in their abstract sphere, I believe all healthful psychological thinking revolts. For one, my conception of psychology is as different from all this as science is from epistemology or metaphysics. I propound here no definitions, but urge that we must, in justice to the human soul, conceive it far more broadly and vitally. From one view-point it is the natural history of the human and prehuman mind in all its aspects, from the ant, bee and wasp up. I would not exclude it from any phenomena of life to which we can apply the term selection.

The psychologist should be in love with life, especially human life, in every aspect of it, as broadly as the author of the *Comédie Humaine* conceived his theme. He passionately loves the acquaintance and friendship of animals, would know their ways, and divine, if he could, how the world looks beneath the skull of the beaver, the dog, or the chimpanzee. He frequents institutions for defectives—the blind, deaf, idiots, insane—where nature has made her great, but cruel, experiments. He loves and is at home with children; is on as familiar terms as is practicable with savages and criminals; frequents the psychological laboratory; and is versed in the history of the great systems. He is penetrated with the faith that even the latter may, and sometime will, be explained in the larger evolutionary way as we

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explain migrations, nest-building, and the social organization of animals. This is plain, naturalistic thinking, with a standpoint as objective as that of the sciences, but including every addition that self-observation and introspection can make, recognizing, of course, the peculiar conditions that must prevail here.

From this standpoint it is plain that the teacher must know two things: (1) the subject matter to be taught; and (2) the nature and capacity of the minds in which it is to be rooted. The farmer must know soils as well as seeds; the architect, the nature of material as well as ground-plans and elevations; the physician, his patient's history, and perhaps that of his family, and he must know drugs as well —all partial, but helpful, analogies. If logic and the old philosophy of mind have ever helped the teacher, the new genetic conceptions are incalculably more labor-saving in his work.

Let us consider a single representative point. Every one recognizes the importance of interest, how it quickens attention, short-circuits slower processes, and eases the strain of acquisition, and how the teacher who is well informed on the favorite out-of-school amusements and occupations of his pupils, and on the life led by them, and who knows his classes individually and collectively, can shorten the road of learning. To determine and group these interests more fully than ever occurred to Herbart is one of the quests of child-study. One of its goals now near at hand, and which will involve considerable change both in regard to the methods of teaching every subject in the curriculum and the age at which the different subjects can be most profitably taught, is the determination of nascent periods for both mental and muscular work. We shall very soon have curves of the years when many of the chief culture-interests begin to culminate and decline. This will enable us to say definitely which are the premature and which are the belated subjects; *i. e.*, when the matter of school training can be taught without forcing, and without sinning away the sacred hour of maximal receptivity and capacity.

Among the more incidental advantages of the study of children is the new bond which it often establishes between the home and the school. The teacher who no longer regards his pupils as marionettes, to be treated as groups or classes, but as free units, with a bond of sympathy between each of their hearts and his own, desires to know at least something of the home life of each child, and to come to an understanding with parents. Hence, many very different organizations have arisen, from Superintendent Dutton's educational club in

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Brookline, Massachusetts, to the circles of mothers who meet the teachers weekly after school at Detroit, Michigan. Again, women teachers are increasing, and the method by which they do their best work is to consider individuals and adapt themselves to personal differences. Child study gives sanction to this method, reinforces it, and tends to make the teacher's service of even greater pecuniary value.

Another advantage of interest in child-study is that it helps to break down to some extent the partitions between grades of work, so that the kindergartner and university professor can coöperate in the same task. Best of all, perhaps, it tends to make family life with plenty of children in it more interesting and desirable. Indeed, it is a part of a great culture-movement marked by a new love of the naïve, the spontaneous, and the unsophisticated, by a desire to get at what is primitive and original in human nature as it comes fresh from its primal sources. A prevalent theory of art insists that the greatest defect of all art-products is a sign of conscious design, and that the acme of æsthetic enjoyment is reached when it is realized that the poem or picture is a product of unconscious creative force more or less irresistible, and, as with the greatest geniuses, with no thought of effect. Just so in childhood we are coming again to realize that in its fresh thoughts, feelings, and impulses, we have an oracle which declares that the world and human nature are sound to the core.

More yet. There is really no clue by which we can thread our way through all the mazes of culture and the distractions of modern life save by knowing the true nature and needs of childhood and of adolescence. I urge, then, that civilizations, religions, all human institutions, and the schools, are judged truly, or from the standpoint of the philosophy of history, by this one criterion: namely, whether they have offended against these little ones or have helped to bring childhood and adolescence to an ever higher and completer maturity as generations pass by. Childhood is thus our pillar of cloud by day and fire by night. Other oracles may grow dim, but this one will never fail.

Just as at various times in the history of culture man has turned with renewed zest to the old and ultimate humanistic question of what he really is, his place and meaning in the universe, his whence and whither, so now we are asking with unique interest what a child really is. We are slowly awaking to a recognition that children are not little adults, with all the faculties of maturity on a reduced scale, but unique and very different creatures. Their proportions are so differ-

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ent that if head, body, and limbs were each to grow in its original proportion until they reached adult stature, they would be monsters. Adaptable as children are, their ways and thoughts are not as ours; and the adult can no more get back into the child's soul by introspection than he can pass the flaming sword and reclaim his lost Eden. The recollections of our own childhood are the mere flotsam and jetsam of a wrecked stage of development; and the lost points in psychogenesis must be slowly wrought out with toil and patience.

The child's senses, instincts, views of truth, credulity, emotions, and feelings toward objects have very little in common with ours, and indeed are sometimes almost incommensurate; so that we have to explore our way back slowly and tediously, with many an indirect method, if we would solve the great problem that looms before us. The study of a few hundred biographies of great men reveals a large floating body of storiology that is liable to attach itself to the early years of any one who afterwards attains eminence. This has shown that most of the material constituting the records of childhood and even adolescence is nearly as mythic as Niebuhr found the stories of early Roman history to be. This, although perhaps the very least of all the motivations to it, suggests the advisability of a life and health book as one of the inalienable rights of childhood, which children would be the first to claim if they knew enough to make a declaration of their rights.

In some European towns such books are now opened by municipal order, and are kept through required school life. Here all the monthly examinations through all the years are a standing witness of the child's progress and fitness for advancement. The school doctor here records his fears and advice, the parents perhaps add their comments, and, in rare cases, the anthropologist or special student supplements all this; so that on the whole there could hardly be a more useful document for giving each child a serviceable kind of self-knowledge of his own strong and weak points as an aid in the choice of a vocation.

One of the most important themes, both practically and scientifically, is adolescence, the springtime of life, when the emotional nature undergoes nothing less than a regeneration, when the child normally passes from egoism to altruism, and the great subordination of the individual to the race slowly makes itself manifest. This is the most critical period of life, because civilization depends on whether these uncertain final stages, which most differentiate man from ani-

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mals, shall be completed or arrested. When the nature of this period is understood, and its needs are met, the most radical of all educational changes will be found necessary in the high school and early collegiate years in ways I have elsewhere indicated. Every race, savage and enlightened, has recognized this stage. Indeed, in a sense, education begins here, and widens upward to the university and downward toward the kindergarten, somewhat in proportion as civilization advances.

Regarded from the standpoint of the highest biologic law this adolescent stage is the golden period of life. The faculties of both body and soul here reach their acme. Just as the ape reaches at adolescence that point in his development which is nearest to man, and becomes farther from him as he matures, so the human race grows younger and more adolescent, because at this stage only the bud of the super-man that is to be appears. G. STANLEY HALL.

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THE PRESENT AND FUTURE OF THE PHILIPPINES.

A JOURNEY to the Philippine Islands, from which I have just returned, has refreshed my memories of previous visits, renewed my interest in the present condition of the Islands, and enabled me to form some estimate as to their future. I shall not discuss the controversies as to the events which ultimately placed the destinies of these islands in the hands of the Government of the United States, but shall limit my remarks to the conditions as we find them to-day, and to what we ought to do in the immediate future to improve them.

Of the various topics that present themselves for consideration, the military situation is naturally the first. In this respect, the last few months have witnessed a great improvement. The Filipino revolutionary government and army no longer exist; in fact, there is not a single regimental organization now to be found. It is true that armed bands of guerillas, more or less numerous, are harassing our troops, and preventing the return of their own people to peaceful avocations. Only a small proportion of the whole number of the natives have been in arms against us. Indeed, I believe that most of them are friendly to us, and anxious for peace. While they have suffered terribly, it has not been at our hands. In fact, the head men of many of the towns captured by our forces have voluntarily borne testimony to the good conduct of our soldiers. Our soldiers of all ranks are doing excellent service; and, while war is not a good school for teaching the amenities of life, they are not conducting it with undue cruelty, or practising oppression or extortion. If General Otis has erred in his treatment of the insurgents, it has been in the direction of leniency.

Even such armed resistance as remains, although it may be troublesome during the present rainy season, will doubtless disappear on the advent of the next dry season. After the coming presidential election, the Filipino junta in Hong Kong will no longer receive and distribute among the insurgents the anti-administration speeches, which are received by the natives, who are strangers to the election tactics in America, as evidences of a coming reversal of all that has

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been done by our Government in relation to the Philippines within the last two years. The distribution of such material has led the natives to believe that if Mr. Bryan should be elected, the American troops would be withdrawn, and that they would be left to govern themselves in any way that they might see fit.

This, however, is a totally impossible condition. In the first place, only a portion of the Tagalos, who number not over a million and a half, have been fighting or working for independence. The remainder of them, as well as a majority of the other seven or eight millions of the population, are favorable to us; and the same is true of the foreign residents. The Filipinos as a whole are certainly not at present capable of establishing and maintaining an independent government. We have assumed obligations that must be fulfilled. We have destroyed the governing power of Spain, which afforded protection to foreign property, foreign capital, and foreign inhabitants, and, in some measure at least, had given the natives a semblance of civil and municipal self-government. We are bound in honor to substitute for it a government which will give to foreigners a larger measure of freedom and protection, and to the Filipinos, not only more liberty, but a more comprehensive and generous scheme of self-government as well. We hold the islands, and there is no possibility of our abandoning them. The vital question now is, how successfully shall we meet the responsibilities we have incurred, and by what means can we inspire with confidence not only those who are friendly toward us, but the conquered people whose hearts are naturally filled with the bitterness engendered by armed strife.

Judge Taft, the President of the Philippine Commission, on his arrival at Manila, made a statement to the representative of the Associated Press which tersely sets forth the policy of the United States. He said in part:

"Representing the sovereignty of the United States in the Philippines, which it is the purpose of our Government to maintain, we are here to do justice to the Filipinos, to secure for them the best government in our power, and such a measure of popular control as is consistent with the stability and security of law, order, and property. We are civil officers, men of peace. The field of our work is necessarily confined to regions where the armed enemy has ceased his operations. We cannot deal with armed men. Gen. MacArthur and the army will do that. When those now in arms shall have laid them down, relying, as they certainly can, upon the justice, generosity, and clemency of the United States, we shall give them all a full hearing upon the policy to be pursued and the reforms to be initiated."

To deal with the "armed men" to whom Judge Taft refers, and to maintain order until the disturbing influence of war shall

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have passed away, a considerable army must be maintained; and it will be some time before the present force can be safely decreased. There are at present twenty-five regiments of volunteers in the Philippines whose term of service will expire in June, 1901. Instead of replacing these regiments by sending more regular troops from the United States, native regiments should be enlisted, with a full complement of American officers. That the natives would make good soldiers is proved by the excellent work that has been done by the battalion of Macabebes now in the service, who have won the good opinion of every officer who has served with them. No European nation has succeeded in holding or controlling tropical possessions without the aid of native troops. Moreover, these can be maintained at a much smaller cost than white soldiers, not to speak of the great expense of transportation. Two-thirds of the Dutch army in Java is composed of native troops; Spain, before the insurrection, had over 13,000 natives doing military service in the Philippines; and England's success in converting the Egyptian *fellahs* into good soldiers is another example of how apparently poor material can be utilized. Even the superabundant Chinese in the Philippines could furnish a serviceable contingent, as is proved by the success of the English in transforming the Chinese at Wei-Hai-Wei into a modern fighting machine.[1]

Next in importance to the military condition is the situation in regard to religion. The Roman Catholic faith is the predominant one; and although the great mass of the people are devout members of that Church, they are bitterly hostile to the Friars, of whom, before the insurrection, there were about three thousand in the islands. These made themselves so obnoxious to the people that, for many years, the main political idea was the question of the expulsion of the monks. This question was, in fact, the principal cause of the rebellion against the Spanish Government. However, very many of the Catholic priests are earnest and worthy men, who are doing good and conscientious work. The Jesuits are also worthy of praise for their enlightened efforts in the cause of education, and in the missionary work they are doing among the uncivilized tribes. The best interests of the country, and also of the Catholic Church, demand that the people be provided with religious teachers whom they will trust and respect. I do not believe they will ever be peaceable or

[1] As to the success of Germany in a similar experiment, see "Kiaochou: A German Colonial Experiment," in THE FORUM for July, 1900.—ED.

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contented until, in the discharge of parochial functions, the clergy are substituted for the Friars.

How the property, which may be justly proved to belong to the monastic orders, can be transferred in favor of the Church is a question which, in my opinion, can be safely left to the ecclesiastical authorities. The public interest demands that an examination be made as speedily as possible, not only into the title of the monastic orders concerning the vast tracts of land claimed by them, but also in regard to the claims of all individuals and corporations, lay or ecclesiastical, who base their ownership on grants from the Spanish Government, as well as the claims of that more numerous class who can show a title by actual possession only. This examination should be made fairly and impartially, as a part of the necessary work of classifying and recording the public lands which became the property of the United States by the provisions of the Treaty of Paris.

After the adjustment of the land titles, the next important matter will be the improvement of means of communication and transportation. Already, since the battle of Manila Bay, 2,500 miles of telegraph and cable lines have been built, or reconstructed, in the Philippines, by the United States Signal Corps. It is true that, in consequence of the exigencies of official and military business, these lines have not been available for commercial or private purposes; but it is hoped that within a few months they can be thrown open to the public. The provision of these lines has been a step in the right direction; but before the resources of Luzon or any of the other islands can be developed, good roads must be constructed in place of the present highways, which are, for the most part, as bad as can be found anywhere in the world. During the dry season they are aggregations of ruts, stones, and dust; and, during the rains, they are, according to their elevation, either water courses or morasses of mud.

The lack of adequate means of land transportation has been the main obstacle to the proper development, not only of the agricultural and mining resources, but also of the manufactures, of Luzon. During the Spanish *régimé* the municipalities of Luzon were permitted by law to levy a tax on real estate for public improvements, particularly for the construction of roads; but in very few cases did they avail themselves of it. Luzon, as the largest, most civilized, and most populous of the islands, the site of the capital, and the commercial metropolis, will, of course, claim the first efforts in this direction. Its numerous good harbors and interior waterways offer excellent facilities for com-

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merce; but these must be supplemented by better highways and, above all, by railways.

There is at present only one line of railroad. It is 120 miles in length, and extends from Manila to Dagupan, a port on the Gulf of Lingayen, and the outlet for produce from the province of Pangasinan and the Tarlac district. The country through which this road passes is flat; and considerable expense has been incurred in the building of bridges over rivers and water courses, and in the repair of damages caused by inundations during rainy seasons. In spite of this, however, the line was prosperous until its operation was impeded by the insurrection; the territory it serves possessing immense natural resources, which have been largely developed since its construction.

A vital question of material improvement is necessarily that of public education. Under Spanish rule education, in its proper sense, was largely confined to the upper classes. Merchants, planters, and other people who could afford it, sent their children to the colleges, and to the high schools maintained by the Jesuits, and some sent their sons to be educated in Hong Kong or in Europe; but the great mass of the people, particularly in the country districts, knowing no language but their own, have been left in ignorance.

To the credit of Americans the school-house follows the flag. As the army advances, and fresh territory becomes safe and peaceful, schools are at once started; and every effort is being made to extend to the towns and hamlets of the entire archipelago the same broad plans for American education which have been in vogue in Manila for more than a year. Recent as is our occupation of the island of Mindanao, official reports received within the last two months indicate that one hundred and eighty schools will soon be in operation in that island alone. The public school system of Manila embraces forty-one schools, with a regular attendance of about five thousand pupils. Two of these schools are conducted by twenty-eight Spanish Jesuit Fathers, and one for girls by a Spanish sisterhood, of whom twelve act as teachers. These three schools include a high school, with considerable academic work for boys, and some high school work for girls; a commercial school for boys; a normal school for males; two primary schools for boys and one for girls—one of those for the boys being a training school for teachers, in connection with the normal school. The instruction in these schools is conducted in Spanish, but great interest is shown in the study of English. The remaining thirty-eight schools are conducted under the auspices of the American Gov-

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ernment, and include nineteen for each sex, scattered throughout the various districts and sub-districts of the city and suburbs. The schools for the boys are located close to those for the girls, and sometimes in the same building. English is taught in all these schools; nearly all the teachers of English being Americans, and mostly women. The eighty-six teachers who use Spanish are Tagalos, Mestizos, and a few Spaniards. The large majority of these teachers are graduates of the normal school of Manila, conducted by the Jesuits.

The greater part of these thirty-eight schools are in rented buildings, for the most part unfit for the purpose, and entirely inadequate to accommodate the number of pupils attending them. There is a most urgent need for larger school buildings, and for properly constructed ones, with play-grounds attached—a luxury entirely unknown in Manila. Accommodations should be provided for at least thirty or forty thousand, who, having no occupation, are roaming the streets and acquiring bad habits. These children are worthy of immediate attention.

In a recent communication, Mr. G. P. Anderson, the American Superintendent of Education in Manila, says:

"I have great faith in the Filipino children of Manila. They are bright, capable, polite, earnest, and persevering, at least those that have lived in Manila for a few years, and are not 'raw material.' The Manila native is not a savage; he appreciates civilization and highly prizes good education. He wants his children to know English and to obtain a good common-school training. The native teachers are bright, faithful, patient, and good, steady workers. All these people need is to be led aright; they will follow. Give them schools, and plenty of them. Wake them up to a higher sense of duty and proper living. They are good material. They have already acquired great confidence in the American as the representative of true liberty of conscience and the standard-bearer of a better and nobler civilization."

Such testimony as this from a trained educator, and one whose position enables him to form an accurate estimate of the character of those under his charge, makes the outlook for the future of these people very hopeful, although it may be difficult to mould the present generation of adults into good and useful citizens.

During my recent visit to Manila, I was present at the exercises held in several of the public schools when they closed for the summer vacation, and I was surprised at the proficiency displayed by the pupils, particularly in English, considering the short time they had been under instruction. The buildings were crowded by the parents and relatives of the children, who evinced the most enthu-

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siastic interest in the proceedings, which were closed by the singing of the patriotic song "America," in the English language.

In December last a nautical school was opened in the Tondo district of Manila, under the management of an American naval officer. Its purpose is to train graduates qualified as mariners to become officers and captains of merchant vessels. The institute promises to become a very useful one.

Next, the problem of labor is an important one, and has a close bearing upon the future prosperity of the Philippines. It has been customary with superficial observers to accuse the natives of laziness. Of course, among them, as with other nationalities, there are some who are idle and improvident; but, when the excitement of war has disappeared, I feel confident that all the labor requirements can be met by the Filipinos, without the necessity of encouraging Chinese immigration.

The natives of the interior have always worked well as agriculturists, while those on the coast are expert fishermen, and make good sailors. In the ports they do all the hard work of boatmen and 'longshoremen. The Manila-Dagupan railroad was built entirely by native labor, and all the subordinate positions in operating the road have been filled by natives. Although they may not, perhaps, in the future, be inclined to work for such small wages as would satisfy the Chinese, having higher aspirations in the direction of family life and in regard to better living, yet, by reason of these aspirations, they are much more desirable citizens than the lower class of Chinese coolies. Moreover, our efforts to elevate and educate the Filipinos will be thwarted if the islands are to be overwhelmed by the threatened flood of Chinese. In the interest of the Filipinos, as well as of ourselves, the United States should firmly prohibit the incoming of more of these people. The weakest feature in the character of the Filipinos is their love of gambling and their addiction to cock-fighting; but these traits will undoubtedly be modified by the spread of education, which will serve to substitute intellectual, in place of mere sensual, amusements, if not in this generation, certainly in the next.

Manila, as the metropolis of the great archipelago, has the promise of a very great future. It has the possibilities of becoming not only a great commercial *entrepôt*, but also an attractive and a beautiful city. The old walled city on the left, or south, bank of the River Pasig is the most perfect specimen in existence of a mediæval Spanish fortified city. It is surrounded by a moat, and by a massive bastioned

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wall of stone, two miles and a quarter in length, built about the year 1590. The city, as a whole, presents a picturesque vista of palaces and forts, churches and convents. Its narrow streets and massive houses of antique Spanish architecture give it a unique and attractive, but somewhat monastic, appearance. Outside the walls, on the south, on the shore of the bay, are the pleasant residential suburbs of Ermita and Malate. The river is crossed by three bridges, which lead to the modern business section of the city, called Binondo, which is the true, cosmopolitan, bustling, commercial Manila, as heterogeneous in its architecture as in its population.

The increasing volume of commerce since the American occupation has demonstrated that the Pasig River cannot afford the necessary accommodation for even the smaller vessels that are able to enter it. Manila Bay is not only shallow near the shore, compelling large ships to anchor at a distance of from one to three miles from the mouth of the river, but it is too large and exposed to afford a safe anchorage at all seasons of the year. Even the unprogressive Spaniards perceived the necessity of constructing an artificial harbor and a system of docks. To defray the cost, a decree was issued, in 1880, levying a special duty of 1 per cent on exports, 2 per cent on imports, 10 cents per ton on ships, and a tax on fishing-craft. Between that year and the termination of the Spanish rule, several millions of dollars were collected from these sources. Where this money went is best known to the recipients; the only visible results of the tax being two sections of sea wall on the bay shore of the old city, of no use to any one in their present condition. The prosecution of this work to completion is a pressing necessity.

Among the city's needs are good, well-managed American hotels. A strong American bank is also wanted. It is strange that American bankers should allow the English banks to reap a golden harvest without competition. It is rather humiliating to an American citizen to find that an English banking corporation is not only the repository of the funds of the United States, but that he has to conduct all his financial operations through the same institution. Even the manager of an English bank expressed his surprise to me that he was allowed to enjoy his very comfortable monopoly of American business.

More libraries and reading rooms, and fewer saloons, would be desirable. Several patriotic women have made an excellent beginning in the establishment of a public library in connection with the reading rooms of the Y. M. C. A. This affords admirable occupation

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for soldiers during leisure hours, and supplies reading matter to the hospital patients. Although the saloons are still much too numerous, a reduction in their number has already been made by the adoption of a more stringent license system, a policy which, it is hoped, will be steadily pursued.

In the business portion of the city, the present wretched cobble-stone pavements, a terror to owners of private carriages, should be replaced by a smooth and hard surface of some kind, to encourage the advent of something more desirable than the present public vehicles, which are simply abominable. The dirty street-cars, drawn by wretched ponies, mere apologies for horses, should be supplanted by an electric system, with comfortable cars. In the cars at present in use none but the lowest of natives and Chinese cares to ride. In 1892, a joint stock company, with a capital of $500,000, was established, to supply the city with electric lights. Since 1884 the city and suburbs have enjoyed an ample supply of good drinking water, thanks to a Spanish philanthropist, named Carriedo, who, in the last century, bequeathed a sum of money in order that the capital and accumulated interest might some day defray the cost. The water is obtained from the San Mateo River; the pumping station being located in a valley of the same name, about eight miles from the city.

Manila, lying practically but a few feet above sea-level, has no system of sewers. Consequently, the American authorities have a great problem before them in the introduction of an effective method of drainage. As the city has been inhabited by careless Oriental people for centuries, under the rule of Spaniards, who are notably remiss as regards sanitation, much is required in the way of cleansing. Even in the short time that it has been subject to American authority a great change for the better in cleanliness has been effected. Within the last fifty years the English have reduced the death-rate of Calcutta at least one-half by improved drainage and sanitary measures. The Dutch have also worked a great and beneficial change in the same direction at Batavia. If this could be effected in those cities, it can still more certainly be done in Manila, where the climate is much more conducive to health.

When peace has been thoroughly restored, and rail and carriage roads have been built into the interior, the inhabitants of Manila will be able to reach, by a short ride, ideal sites for summer resorts and sanitariums, with any temperature that may be desired, depending upon the choice of elevation. At present, the only opportunity

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for enjoying the refreshing, cool evening air is to take a drive on the Luneta, a beautiful roadway on the shore of the bay, where a military band frequently plays at sunset.

Manila has many handsome private residences; but very few of them have more than one story above the ground floor. The ground floor itself is either uninhabited or is used as a lodging place for native servants, or for a coach house, as the upper floor is considered to be less damp and freer from malarial influences. Instead of glass, opaque plates of shell are used in the window sashes. These temper the rays of the hot tropical sun, while admitting the light. Many of these residences are surrounded by beautiful gardens, some of which have been recently more or less neglected. However, with the return of peace and prosperity, they will no doubt again be made to blossom with their usual tropical luxuriance and beauty.

From its favorable geographical position, which will render it the natural emporium and distributing point for American commerce in the Orient, and with the development by American enterprise of the marvelous resources of the islands of which it is the commercial and financial metropolis, Manila is bound, under a free and strong government, to grow in wealth, population, and importance, until it will rival the greatest and most prosperous of the great Asiatic commercial cities.

F. F. Hilder.

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HOW PEACE WAS MADE BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN.

THE geographical position of Korea in relation to China is about the same as that of Florida to the United States. It is a promontory lying between the Yellow Sea and the Sea of Japan. For centuries China was the suzerain of Korea. The bond between the two countries was rather shadowy, but until the Japanese war it was thoroughly recognized by both countries. A Korean delegation went every year to Peking to bear tribute, taking with it vast quantities of ginseng for sale, which, as a special privilege, paid no duty.

Nothing better illustrates the curious incapacity of the Chinese officials than their treatment of Korea. If Korea were a vassal of China, of course she did not have the right to make independent treaties. If she were not a vassal, then China had no manner of right to control her actions. In practice, while always claiming to be the suzerain of Korea, China adopted a line of treatment which was uncertain and vacillating. When an insurrection broke out in Korea, China invariably sent troops to aid the King to put it down. She insisted that her envoy to Korea should occupy the position of a British resident at an Indian court; that he should rank other foreign ministers at Seoul, and should have the sole right to ride in his chair into the royal presence. Yet she allowed Korea to make treaties with other powers.

Whenever the question arose of liability for the acts of Korea, China had nothing to say. On these occasions she left Korea to get out of the difficulty the best she could; but when the war with Japan commenced, she did not fail to complain that that country had sought to weaken and destroy her hold on Korea. It was the veteran Li Hung Chang, who, prior to the recent war, managed Korean affairs. When he was asked why, if Korea were a vassal of China, he permitted her to make independent treaties with foreign nations, his answer was peculiarly Chinese. He said he did so because he thought that the Powers who made the treaties with Korea would respect her autonomy.

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When, in 1882, Commodore R. W. Shufeldt, on behalf of our Government, made a treaty with Korea, the question came up as to the power of the latter to enter into treaty relations with other nations. The King thereupon wrote a letter to the President to explain the situation. This letter will be found in the Commodore's despatch of May 29, 1882. It contains the following clauses:

"The Chao-hsien country (Korea) is a dependency of China, but the management of her governmental affairs has always been vested in the Sovereign. * * * * * * In the matter of Korea being a dependency of China, any questions that may arise between them in consequence of such dependency, the United States is in no way to interfere."

When the Korean envoy went to Washington, the Chinese minister insisted that the envoy should be introduced by him to the President, and should walk behind him. This, however, was disregarded, and the Korean minister was received as the representative of a sovereign State. No other solution of the question was possible, for we could not receive as ministers the representatives of tributary provinces. China still clung to her suzerainty, though it did not at all involve sovereignty.

When Japan determined to make war on China, this question confronted her. If Korea were an independent country, Japan could interfere with her internal affairs, as she was doing, without being accountable to China; but if Korea were under the lawful control of China, Japan must apply to her for the privilege of undertaking to make reforms in Korea. In July, 1894, Mr. Otori, the Japanese representative in Korea, put the direct question to the King as to whether or not Korea was a tributary of China. The question caused great consternation, because a negative answer would incur the wrath of China, while an affirmative one would anger Japan. The King did not answer positively, but he cited a clause from the treaty with Japan, of 1876, wherein it was stated that Korea was an independent State, and one from the letter to the President to the effect that in "both internal administration and foreign intercourse, Korea enjoyed complete independence." The King reasoned that China could not complain of his citing treaties which he had made with her consent.

Naturally, Japan was perfectly satisfied, and she proceeded with her reforms as if Korea were independent, while China, diplomatically, was in a fix. Thus it happened that Japan could justify herself to the world, claiming, as nations do under like circumstances, that she intended, not to conquer Korea, but to elevate and civilize her

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people. Japan had caught the inspiration from us. We had forced modern civilization upon her, and she intended to do the same good office for Korea. Accordingly, Japan sent troops to Korea. China did the same under the thin veil that she wanted to assist her vassal in putting down an insurrection.

On June 8, 1894, the rebellion against the King was officially announced to be suppressed. Nevertheless, on June 10, 1894, the Chinese landed 2,000 troops near A-san, forty miles south of Chemulpo, to aid in suppressing the rebellion. This was done at Korea's request. Five hundred Japanese troops entered Seoul, as a legation guard, on June 10, and 800 more Japanese soldiers came on June 13, while others were at Chemulpo, and on the road to Seoul. Three thousand Japanese troops entered Seoul on June 16, and on July 26 the Japanese sank the Kowshing, carrying 1,500 Chinese troops—the foreign drilled troops of Li Hung Chang. On July 28 and 29 the battle of A-san was fought, in which the Japanese lost 70 men, while the Chinese lost 800 men, and all their stores and artillery. On August 1, 1894, both countries declared war. Then followed, on September 15, the great battle of Ping-yang, in which the Chinese were routed; and the battle of Yalu, September 17, in which four Chinese men-of-war were destroyed, while the Japanese lost none. Port Arthur fell on November 22, but before that date diplomacy—blessed diplomacy—intervened.

On November 20, 1894, I received at Peking the following despatch:

> DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, November 19, 1894.
> Our Minister at Tokyo is advised that any direct overtures for peace made by China to Japan through the American Minister at Peking will be considered.
> GRESHAM.

Prior to that date the Tsung-li-Yamen had requested the ministers of England, Germany, France, Russia, Spain, Italy, and the United States to attend an interview with them, of which the object was to procure our respective governments to intervene in favor of peace. The proceedings of this interview were communicated to the governments above mentioned by their representatives. The President declined any joint intervention, although he stated that he would mediate alone if requested to do so by China and Japan. The European Powers all declined any interference at that time.

The coast, therefore, was left free for direct proposals to be made by China to Japan for peace. In an interview with the Yamen, on

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November 22, 1894, it was stated to the ministers that I was willing to forward to Tokyo, through Mr. Dun, our minister, a proposal to negotiate for peace. The members of the Yamen were delighted at the prospect of obtaining peace, and urgently begged me to proceed immediately. Accordingly, I wired to Japan that China desired to open negotiations for peace on the basis of the independence of Korea and the payment of a reasonable war indemnity. Japan answered that she was willing to negotiate, but that she would dictate the terms of peace.

It would be needless to recount here the substance of the numerous despatches which passed between the two governments through Mr. Dun and myself as intermediaries. There was a vast amount of labor expended by China in an endeavor to find out what Japan meant to demand as the conditions of peace, and besides there always remained in the minds of the Chinese statesmen the idea that ultimately Russia and France would intervene. For these reasons the departure of the Chinese envoys was delayed until late in January, 1895. February 1 the plenipotentiaries, composed of Count Ito and Viscount Mutsu for Japan, and Chang In Hoon and Shao Yu Lien for China, met at Hiroshima, Japan, to make a treaty.

When plenipotentiaries meet the first thing they do is to exchange credentials. When the Chinese envoys were asked for their credentials they produced a very curious paper. This unique document reads as follows:

> By decree we do appoint Chang In Hoon, holding the rank of President of a Board, Minister of the Tsung-li-Yamen, and Junior Vice-President of the Board of Revenue, and Shao Yu Lien, an officer of the button of the first rank, and acting Governor of Hunan, as our plenipotentiaries to meet and negotiate the matter with the plenipotentiaries appointed by Japan.
>
> You will, however, telegraph to the Tsung-li-Yamen for the purpose of obtaining our commands, by which you will abide. The members of your mission are placed under your control. You will carry out your mission in a faithful and diligent manner, and will fulfil the trust we have reposed in you. Respect this!
>
> (The date.) Seal of Imperial Command.

It will be seen that it does not contain the indispensable words giving full powers to conclude, sign, and seal a treaty. The Japanese had heard that the Chinese Government had repudiated the acts of its envoys on several occasions, and they were not to be caught in this trap. They concluded that China was trifling with them, and simply wanted delay, and, if possible, a truce, which was denied by Japan. The suspicions were probably well founded.

I make this assertion, which under the circumstances to be re-

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lated is entitled to some weight, because my own reputation was somewhat involved. My kind colleagues said that I had undertaken to manage the business, and that I was responsible for the want of "full powers." The facts were, however, susceptible of easy proof. I knew that the Chinese statesmen had had little or no experience in drawing papers of this kind, and before the envoys left Peking I suggested that I would draw the "full powers" for the Emperor to sign. I was requested to do so. I procured from my French colleague a form which had been used by Louis Philippe, translated it into English, then into Chinese, and sent it to the Yamen. The next day I visited the Yamen and inquired whether the paper I had presented had been signed by the Emperor. The ministers of the Yamen told me that they had changed the wording a little to suit the Chinese idiom, but that they had not materially altered the paper; and they added that the Emperor had signed it. The paper actually sent bore no resemblance to the complete document which I had prepared.

The Chinese envoys were ordered to leave Japan immediately. When they arrived at Nagasaki, I wired to Chang directing him to present my "full powers" to the Japanese. He answered that the Emperor had refused to sign them. I then wired to Japan, asking that the envoys might be allowed to remain in Japan and complete their work. I offered to wire full powers, and to send them by a messenger as soon as navigation opened. But Japan was then engaged in taking Wei-hai-wei, and refused all delay.

It is curious how circumstances alter cases. When Li Hung Chang was shot a few months later at Shimonoseki, and it seemed likely that the peace negotiations would fail, Japan wired me asking that Li's adopted son, commonly called Lord Li, should be appointed an associate envoy with his father. On that occasion there was no red tape. Japan stated that all the authority needed was that I should wire that the appointment had been made. This was done, and Lord Li assisted his father until the end of the negotiations. Japan had begun to fear foreign intervention, and so the full power business was disregarded.

After this experience of the tergiversation of the Chinese, I required them to put all their communications to me in writing. I have one that was written, at one of our meetings, on a bone paper cutter.

The Chinese envoys, Chang and Shao, returned home. Negotiations were soon after renewed with a view to sending Li Hung Chang as

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envoy, in accordance with the wish intimated by Japan. On September 17, 1894, Li had been deprived by imperial decree of the "three-eyed peacock feather" and "the yellow riding jacket." This feather is worn in the hat, at the back of which there is an opening, through which it fits. A hat so made, but without the feather, looks like a rooster without a tail. Of course Li's honors had to be restored to him before he could be sent as plenipotentiary, and this consideration alone induced him to consent to accept the position. He knew that the treaty to be made would be met with universal disapproval, and he anticipated a sentence of death on his return to China. The influence of the Empress, and the fact that he carried a bullet in his cheek, saved his life. March 15, 1895, Li sailed from Tien-Tsin for Shimonoseki. On March 24 he was shot at that place by a fanatic, who approached close to his chair and fired at his face. The ball lodged in the left cheek bone, and remains there still.

When Li went as plenipotentiary, there was no trouble about his credentials. I accomplished the rather remarkable feat of wiring them to Japan in Chinese, with the request that any objection taken might be mentioned, so that the point at issue might be corrected. Japan asked for an English text, which was sent. No material objection to the credentials was made, and Li started on his eventful journey. Little work thereafter remained for the American legation to do. The legation and the consuls represented Japan in China during the war, and our colleagues in Japan did the same thing for China. When the war was over Japan asked what there was to pay; but we answered that there was nothing to pay, except a small sum to watchmen for guarding the Japanese legation, which I had laid out.

Both of the great Oriental nations had instinctively turned to Americans to represent them at the courts. What the American representatives in both countries did for the people intrusted to their charge would fill a book. I cannot go into the matter here. After the war the nationals of both countries parted with their quondam representatives with great regret. The administration of public affairs had been pure and honest. No American official soiled his hands with an unearned dollar. There was no breath of scandal. Finally, when peace came, and Japan, deeply grateful for the services we had rendered in China, proposed to decorate the minister and consuls, the State Department replied that we had only done our duty, and that it would not ask Congress to pass a resolution allowing us to accept the decorations. And the State Department was right.

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When Li reached Shimonoseki, the labors of my colleague, Mr. Edwin Dun, minister to Japan, and of myself, were practically over. I will not undertake to praise Mr. Dun. Let the records speak for him.

A distinguished American diplomatist and lawyer, Col. John W. Foster, was to enter into the arena as counsel for Li Hung Chang; and to his able hands were committed the legal interests of China. Mr. Dun and I had brought the two nations together. Only he and I and our respective staffs will ever know the difficulties which were met and overcome in the long wrangle, through us as intermediaries, between the two most astute nations of the world. If the reader imagines that in such circumstances an intermediary has nothing to do but to transmit instructions, let him attend a few midnight meetings with half a dozen Chinese officials, and I guarantee that he will change his mind.

After the treaty had been made there remained to appear in the swelling theme the intervention of Russia, France, and Germany, and, finally, the exchange of ratifications, which hung in the balance, to the worry of the "intermediaries." But space forbids my speaking of these things here.

CHARLES DENBY.

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THE NEGRO PROBLEM IN THE SOUTH.

If I for one moment believed it possible that in any contingency I could have any feelings other than those of absolute fraternity and cordial good will toward the people of the South, I would not put pen to paper upon the subject matter of this article. Indeed, I feel as much anxiety for the welfare of the Southern people—for the growth and development of their splendid possibilities in all directions—as I do for the welfare of the people of any other section of the Union. All my animosities of the war period have been long since lost sight of. So much, then, for the feeling with which I enter upon my present task.

It may be stated as an unquestionable proposition that the foundations upon which our Government rests differ widely from those of other nations. The authority of our Government is founded upon the consent of the governed; and this is not a phrase to be criticised and trifled with when the subject matter of discussion relates to the people of the organized States of this Union, nor even when it applies to the people of territory acquired by conquest or treaty, although the application differs in various cases.

It is not necessary to enter upon the field of discussion which has grown out of some of our foreign relations. Let us, then, start out by accepting the proposition that all men in the United States have an equal right to be consulted about those matters of the United States Government which, by any possibility, can affect them. To take from members of a free government their individual right to participate in that government—a right guaranteed by the Constitution of the State in which they live, and long recognized as undeniable—would be to act in opposition to the doctrine so tenaciously adhered to by a large body of men in Congress during the recent session, namely, that it is the consent of the governed alone that gives power to the governing body.

That there is a movement on foot, fully developed and already largely executed, having for its aim and object the disfranchisement

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at the polls of a body of men in the South, will not be denied by any candid writer or thinker. It is not alone the hope of those who are thus moving to exclude ignorance and vice and incompetency, but it is their hope to make it impossible by law that the rights of citizenship shall any longer be exercised by the colored men of a majority of the Southern States. Already, in the States of Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, constitutional amendments have been adopted which, by their operation, will exclude from the privilege of voting a very large minority, if not indeed a majority, of the people of those States.

No intelligent, fair-minded man will deny that it is the purpose of the organizers and promoters of this movement to make it impossible for the colored man to vote in those States. Nor did any gentleman of the South, in the recent reference to the matter in Congress, deny that the manifest intention is so to shape legislation as to have it operate unequally upon the white and the black. Indeed, the gentlemen of that section justify it, and that justification will be discussed here briefly. But, to make it a little plainer and more emphatic, it is intended that offices of every kind shall be held by white men alone, and that the colored men shall have no voice in choosing who of the white men shall hold the offices. The colored men of the South are to become serfs, persons in, but not of, the Southern States. Stripped of all power of resistance by the use of the only weapon that a free man has in a republic, he would be subject at once to the will of his white masters; and it may be well argued that his condition in that case would be worse than it was in slavery. Then he had certain claims upon his master; then his master had great interest in him, at least in his physical welfare. Now the master would have no interest in the colored man whatever. He would be simply his master, and would be under no obligation to protect him under any circumstances whatever.

In order that this argument may be considered fair and equitable, there should be no misunderstanding as to what the movement in the South has for its ultimate object. Great art has been used to make it appear that the disfranchisement contemplated in the new formula of political rights is applicable alike to the white and the black; and, literally speaking, that is true. But before assuming the responsibility of this article, the writer interrogated a number of gentlemen distinguished in political and social life in several of the Southern States, as to whether or not it would be just to charge

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that the movement was intended to disfranchise the black and preserve the white from the operation of the new system. Without exception they answered: "It would be perfectly fair, for such is the real purpose." It will not be forgotten that a distinguished Senator openly declared that purpose in the United States Senate recently; nor will it be forgotten that a number of the Representatives of the South in the House manfully defended their attitude upon this question, on the ground of their determined hostility to negro domination.

If anything were lacking to show that the real purpose is to disfranchise men upon the basis of color, an examination of the new provisions of the Constitution would settle the question affirmatively. To illustrate: Two men present themselves at the polls, one a black man, and the other a white man. Upon examination as to their educational qualification, they both fail in like degree. But the interrogator at once puts to the white man this question: "Was your father a voter in 1860?" The answer is in the affirmative, and he is permitted to vote. A like question to the colored man reveals the fact that his father was not a voter at that time, and he is at once turned out as a political pariah. Here we find the whole matter of the amendment disclosed.

Now, what have we here? One of the most un-American, undemocratic provisions that can be imagined—hereditary right of suffrage—a species of class legislation utterly at variance with the American spirit. The questions of fitness and of the benefits of intelligence to flow to the State are entirely discarded.

What will be the effect of this movement upon the South, and, incidentally, upon the whole country? It is the principal object of this article to point out that the danger to the people of the South is far greater than it is to the other people of the United States. The history of the world proves that men who have tasted liberty know its value and resent its removal. Not only will the negroes show their resentment, but they will cease to produce anything of value for the body politic in which they reside. They will add neither to the material welfare nor to the intellectual growth and strength of the State.

It may be argued at this point that during the Civil War the slaves of the South remained at home and cared for the families of the men at the front. That is all true, and does not argue against this proposition. They had never been free men, and they did not

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know what the right to vote meant. They have tasted something of liberty, and no men enjoyed citizenship more deeply than did the enfranchised slaves of the South. It came to them as an unexpected boon, and they valued it beyond comparison.

No people ever developed the elements of good citizenship with such remarkable rapidity as did the colored people after emancipation. After two hundred years of bondage they were liberated, and civil and political rights were accorded to them. The inference that social equality had not been a part of the transition, that distinctions of race and color still existed, was at once accepted by them; and it has been a world's wonder how faithfully the colored people have observed these lines of distinction. And, more than that, take the whole country over, it has been a world's wonder that they have sought after and obtained such a degree of education as they are shown to have acquired. Figures would be tiresome in this connection; but their institutions of higher learning, their devotion to the public schools, and their deep interest in all that relates to the uplifting of their race, have marked them as a most peculiar and interesting race of people.

It will be a marvel if disfranchisement does not stop all, or practically all, progress in this direction. In such event what has the colored man to look forward to? Simply a lower stage of degradation. He knows that if this scheme is put into operation, his children and his children's children, for all time to come, are to be in practical slavery. Why should he struggle? Why should he educate himself and his children? He will retrace the steps he has taken toward good citizenship much more rapidly than he has advanced. It is the history of the world, and there is no escape from the blighting effects.

But, it is said, in answer to all this, by the men of the South, men of character, men of intelligence, "We will not live under colored government." Very well. Assume this to be a proper position to take, and who will dény it? What State in this Union is under colored domination to-day? There are in the Union a number of States having a greater voting population of colored men than of white men; and yet not one of those States is dominated by the colored race. Take the State of Mississippi: no colored man in Congress. There is no more danger of colored domination in one of those States than there is that intelligence will find itself prostrated by ignorance, enterprise by sloth. This is not a just argument. It never was.

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There is no such thing as negro domination, and there is no danger that there ever will be. The colored man as he becomes intelligent grows in virtue and love of country; and he is as likely to vote for the white man as for the black man, and much more so, as has been demonstrated a thousand times.

I fear that the just historian of these hours of apparent political evolution in the South will be compelled to write that this effort toward the destruction of the franchise of the colored people was a play of partisan politics and not of sincere patriotism. I fear this; it may not be so, but that is my anxiety. For more than thirty years now, about one-third of a century, the colored man has been a voter. During that time the Southern States have flourished beyond all comparison. The property, the prosperity, the happiness, the good government, the education, and the civilization of the Southern States have increased in a ratio most gratifying; and all this has been accomplished with the political rights of the colored man unassailed. Why should this new suggestion force itself in here? Why should it be insisted upon that this race, which has suffered so much, so long, and so patiently, and made such rapid strides toward a better condition, shall now be disfranchised?

The white man of the South at the end of the war found himself living where this great colored element resided. It was one of the burdens. It could not have been expected otherwise. It could not have been imagined by the people of the South that in case of failure they would bear no burdens growing out of a war. They were compelled to bear burdens, not the lightest of which, in their estimation, was the carpet-bag government. But they have gotten rid of that, and every Southern State is now under the control and influence of its own people.

The question now presented to the people is: "Will you let well enough alone, or will you hazard the future?" Cannot the people of the South be patient while the transformation is going on? Is it because of the ignorance of the colored man alone, or is it a prejudice because of his color? If it is the first, there is an excuse for it; if the second, it is without excuse. The remedy should be patience, hope, discharge of duty, and the education of the black men of the South. If I may be permitted to say so, the remedy lies also in the education of the white men of the South, to see to it that the colored men do not get ahead in the great race of life.

It is to be hoped that the people of the South will halt at the

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position now assumed, and that no other States will enter upon this unfortunate process. The forthcoming census of the United States will disclose approximately the situation in the South. We shall learn the number of voters, comparisons will at once be made, and agitation will at once become manifest in American politics. It will be regrettable. It will be a sad day for the country when there shall come a new political issue which shall take sides and be organized for political contests along geographical or sectional lines.

These are merely outlines, brought to the notice of the reader for the purpose of suggesting thought and study, and with the hope that the gravity of the situation will be met by calm judgment and patriotic action.

CHARLES HENRY GROSVENOR.

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LABOR AND POLITICS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Before beginning to consider the present position and probable future of the Labor movement in Great Britain, it may be well, for the sake of the younger men of the American nation, to explain that it is only in comparatively recent times that the working-classes have obtained political power. In 1807 a Reform Bill was passed giving workingmen in cities the right to vote; and it was only so recently as 1884 that the same right was extended to the counties. Previous to these dates, the efforts of the working-class movement, in so far as this movement was political, were completely absorbed in seeking to win the vote.

Even now much remains to be done before it can be said that the working-classes are fully enfranchised. Owing to an absurd and antiquated custom of registration, designed to protect the interests of property-owners, a workingman leaving one constituency and going to another has two years to wait before he can again exercise the franchise. Unmarried men are required to pay fifty dollars a year for rooms before they are entitled to be considered citizens; and as workingmen obtain rooms for 60 or 75 cents per week, it will be readily seen that very few of them can go on the register. The lodger franchise, as it is termed, was chiefly intended to enable the sons of well-to-do people to vote, while excluding their working-class brethren from the same privilege. Owing to these grave defects in our electoral law one-third of our workingmen are permanently off the register.

When the working-classes aspire to direct representation in the House of Commons they are met with difficulties graver than the mere paucity of votes. There is first of all the cost of election. In general this is borne by the candidates put forward by the parties. It is seldom less than five thousand dollars, and sometimes very much more. When a trade union, therefore, contemplates sending one of its officials to the House of Commons, it has first to incur this enormous expenditure. Then, in addition, the whole cost of maintaining the member in Parliament has to be borne by the organization sending

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him. Payment of members and of all election expenses is still unknown, outside of election programmes, in our political system. The result is that the House of Commons is to all intents and purposes a preserve for the rich. It contains 670 members; and out of this number less than twelve are Labor members in the sense of being financed and selected by trade unions and other working-class organizations. If, therefore, Labor representation is not so advanced with us as it is in many other European countries, such as Germany, France, and Belgium, allowance must be made for the difficulties which have to be overcome.

Despite these difficulties, however, there has been, for the past thirty-five years, a growing determination, on the part of organized labor, to have its interests directly represented in Parliament. In 1874, Mr. Thomas Burt, secretary of the Northumberland Miners' Union, was returned to the House of Commons; and since then, as already indicated, several large unions (chiefly of miners) have followed the excellent example thus set. In 1887, an attempt was made at the Trade Union Congress to form a political organization to secure the return of workingmen to Parliament. At that time the idea of independent action, apart from the coöperation of the Liberal Party, was scouted as an impossible theory; and so the Labor Electoral Association, as the organization was termed, was to all intents and purposes a left wing of the Liberal Party. In two or three instances it secured the adoption of its candidates by the Liberals; but it failed utterly to secure a grip on the working-classes, and ultimately fizzled out.

In 1893, the Independent Labor Party came into being. As its name implies, its principal object is to secure the representation of working-class opinion in Parliament and on the various elected bodies. It differs, however, from previous attempts of the same kind in these respects: First, its principles are openly and avowedly Socialistic; and, second, it has cut itself absolutely and resolutely adrift from any connection, open or implied, with orthodox politics. The result is that it has become a political Ishmael. It has taken part in elections by running candidates of its own; and the amount of support secured by these men, reaching, as it sometimes has, to as much as one-fourth of the entire electorate, is an astounding fact to orthodox politicians. It has all the traditions of class against it, the press, the pulpit and the wealth of the nation being ranged solidly in opposition. It has been accused of being financed by the Conserva-

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tives, in order to injure the Liberals. But, despite all opposition and obstacles, its principles have found an ever-increasing acceptance at the hands of organized Labor. At the general election of 1895, the I. L. P. put forward thirty-four candidates and polled 44,000 votes. It has been calculated that had the party been in a position to contest every constituency, close upon one million votes would have been secured for its candidates. None of them was elected, but the contest left a deep and abiding mark on the politics of the nation.

Since then a still further development has been made in the direction of Independent Labor representation. Each year the trade unionists of Great Britain, like those of America, hold a congress where questions, chiefly political and legislative, affecting the workers are discussed. At first the Trades Congress was openly hostile to the I. L. P.; but year by year it found its prejudices diminishing, as its knowledge of the new movement increased, until at length, and recently by overwhelming majorities, the principles of Socialism and Independent Labor representation found ready acceptance by the Congress. As a result there has been a gradual *rapprochement*. Whilst the Independent Labor Party was in its infancy, it was a common spectacle to find representative trade-unionists appearing on the platform of capitalistic candidates to oppose the nominees of the Labor Party. These men as a rule—the nominees of the I. L. P.—were good and sound trade-unionists, many of them prominent officials in the movement; their only crime being that they preferred to represent labor independently, instead of attempting to do so through the medium of a rich man's party.

At the last gathering of the Trade Union Congress, in September, 1899, a resolution was passed instructing the executive to convene a joint conference of Trade-Unionists, Socialists, Coöperators, and other working-class organizations, to consider a basis of joint political action, and to secure the creation of an Independent Labor Party in Parliament. Unfortunately, the Coöperators were unable to accept the invitation. The movement is very strong, having over one million members. For some time the question of direct representation has been agitating it also; and this year a ballot vote of its members was taken on whether or not the Coöperative movement should enter politics. Until the result of the ballot was known its officials did not feel justified in taking part in the conference. In Scotland, however, the movement is more advanced, and the Coöperators sent delegates.

The result of the gathering exceeded the most sanguine expecta-

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tions of its promoters. It was very largely attended; half a million Trade Unionists were represented, in addition to the Independent Labor Party, the Social Democratic Federation, and the Fabian Society—three Socialist bodies; and the discussion, which lasted for two days, was of the most friendly and harmonious character. In the end a basis of agreement was arrived at which may be summarized as follows: A joint committee was appointed from the Conference to prepare a list of candidates entitled to receive the support of all working-class electors. These candidates are to be nominated by one of the organizations affiliated to the new movement; the said organizations being also responsible, financially, for their own candidates. Members returned to Parliament under this agreement are obliged to join in forming an Independent group there, to promote the interests of Labor, and to hold themselves in readiness to coöperate with any party which, for the time being, is promoting the cause of Labor, or to oppose any party acting in the opposite manner. We have thus the beginning of what may be a political agitation compared with which the Anti-Corn Law and Chartist movements will appear mere incidents, for it is a certainty that the privileged classes, who have so long ruled almost without challenge, will not willingly let go their hold; and in so far as the new combination of the forces of Labor succeeds, to that extent will the fires of political agitation burn.

One factor which will tell seriously against the chances of Labor candidates at the next general election is the prevalent war spirit. For about a year every question has been submerged by the wave of so-called patriotism which has swept over the land. A subsidized press so preyed upon the feelings of the nation, so misrepresented facts and glorified untruths, that for a time the people went mad in support of a war for the suppression of two republics, whose greatest crime lay in their determination to protect Labor against the encroachments of the speculative capitalist. In the gold-mining region of the Transvaal wages were high; an eight-hour day was secured by act of Parliament; colored people were protected; and taxes were put on the profits of gold mining instead of on the broad shoulders of the working-class. These, and other matters affecting the interests of capital, but all benefiting the workers, led the capitalistic class to the determination to overthrow Transvaal rule. They spent half a million on the abortive Jameson raid; and when that failed they set themselves to secure their end by "constitutional means," as Cecil Rhodes expressed it. The present war is the result. But the workingmen of Britain were

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in ignorance of all this, for many and varied forces were at work to make white appear black, and, as was to be expected, succeeded. Thus it comes to pass that such questions as old-age pensions, the housing of the people, the eight-hour day, and others of equal importance to the workers, have dropped out of the public mind or have been drowned in the cheering for great British victories.

Were time given to allow the public mind to return to sanity before taking the national verdict on the war, there would be still some hope for Labor candidates. Forces are at work which are already beginning to tell in the right direction. For one thing, the cost of living has gone up considerably, owing to the war. In the coal trade, the mine-owners are taking advantage of the patriotic mood of the nation to play havoc with every form of industry. Coal has almost doubled in price. Corporations are paying twice as much for gas coal as they did two years ago, and the price of gas is being raised all round in consequence. Railway companies are raising their fares and rates from the same cause; and steel and iron works are being shut down to prevent loss from carrying them on. Mr. Benjamin Pickard, M.P., chairman of the Miners' Federation, stated in a speech the other day that the profits of mine-owners this year are fabulously in excess of those of last year. To complete the scandal, it is only necessary to add that the miners are not benefiting to the extent of one cent thereby, as they are under an agreement, made eighteen months ago, not to seek any advance in wages before the end of 1904.

These facts, together with the gradual spread of the truth concerning the causes of the war in South Africa, are producing a change in working-class opinion; but the party managers will see to it that the election comes before the change has had time to affect their majority seriously. It was their intention to take the election in July of this year; but the Boers, by their tenacity, courage, and splendid generalship, have upset ministerial calculations, and so the election has been postponed until October. It may even be held over until the spring of 1901. That will depend on how events work out in South Africa, as it is meant that the election shall be made to synchronize with the enthusiasm which will be generated by the home-coming of the victorious troops.

There is, of course, another side to this balancing up of forces. Hitherto, Labor candidates, especially when put forward by the Independent Labor Party, have had no more virulent antagonists than advanced Radicals. Again, it may be necessary to explain that the

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Radical is a political reformer who pins his faith to the Liberal Party, which, when in office, is entirely dominated by the Whigs, between whom and the Tories there is perfect agreement in all things political. But, clinging to party traditions, the Radical has gone on blindly, hoping against hope that in some way or other he would come to the realization of his ideal by supporting the party with which political reforms in the past had come to be associated. True, he only succeeded in this by resolutely shutting his eyes to patent facts, and refusing to be taught by experience. At times his faith has been sorely tried, and now it appears as if the war had at length brought about his conversion.

The Radical is still a believer in the time-honored battle-cry—with which the late W. E. Gladstone used to thrill the masses—of Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform; and, to his amazement, he finds that the present sordid war of annexation has its strongest and most enthusiastic supporters among the Liberal leaders. For the first time he has had it brought home to him in practical fashion that the Labor Party of 1900 is the only party which is faithful to his ideas on war. As a consequence, there has been a coming together of elements hitherto antagonistic; and the chances are that the feeling of friendliness thus engendered will result in a fusion of forces in the not distant future. Should this take place, our political system will be completely revolutionized.

As a matter of fact there is no longer a Liberal party. Liberalism was the embodiment of the growing commercial spirit of the early years of this century, while Toryism represented the territorial or landed interests. Between these a fierce feud was waged for fifty years. The triumph of the Free Trade movement gave the victory to the manufacturers, and since then Liberalism has been a declining force. Commerce having reached the limits of expansion, and finding itself face to face with an ever-growing competition, not only from European rivals, but also from the United States of America, and from the slowly awakening East, is under the necessity of finding new markets, which at once throws it into the arms of imperialism. Thus, there is no longer a real dividing line separating Liberalism from Toryism. As a consequence, all cohesion has departed from the ranks of the Liberal party; and instead of a united force pursuing an ideal, there is but a series of wrangling factions quarrelling and fighting among themselves.

The times, therefore, are ripe for a Labor party; and its advent

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in force is but a question of time. A principle upon which all can unite will evolve, and old-time animosities will be buried. Here again we are not left in any doubt. On the Continent of Europe the same evolution has been going on. Conservatism has long been triumphant; Liberalism is on the wane; and Labor is coming to the front.

The principle of unity in the Labor Movement in all lands is Socialism; and, since there is no other possible, so will it be here. Germany has 54 Socialist members; France, United Socialist and Radical party, 120; Belgium, 37 Socialists; while Spain and Italy are also well to the fore. The coming of Socialism is already admitted in all lands. Tories and Liberals vie with each other at election times in formulating platforms which savor more and more of Socialism. Municipalities are rapidly developing the Socialist spirit. It is estimated that already £400,000,000 worth of property is owned and controlled by municipal corporations in the form of land, houses, gas and waterworks, electric plants, trams, and the like. So alarming has this side of the Socialist movement become to the propertied classes that the appointment of a parliamentary committee has been secured to consider how best to check the movement. On the other hand, mine-owners and railway companies, by their exorbitant and vexatious charges, are bringing the nationalization of mines and railways well within the sphere of practical politics.

While, therefore, I am not inclined, for reasons given above, to be unduly elated over the prospects of the Labor Party at the approaching general election, I am in no doubt whatever about the not distant future. There are at present twelve Labor members in the House of Commons. These will all seek re-election. The Independent Labor party decided two years ago to nominate twenty-five candidates; but it is extremely doubtful, as things have developed, whether they will now adhere to their decision. They will, however, put forward at least a dozen. A like number will be run by the Trade-Unionists, and a smaller number by the Social Democratic Federation. In all, between forty and fifty candidates will go to the polls under the auspices of the United Labor Party; and if only a half or even a third of these are returned, they will form the nucleus of a party from which much may be reasonably expected. The Radicals in Parliament, together with the Irish Party, would probably find common ground of action with such a group; and, as a result, there would be a fighting force of, say, 120. Resolutely led, by taking advantage of every opportunity, it would steadily become a power in the land;

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causing the Whigs to go over in form as well as in spirit to their natural friends, the Tories, and bringing the nation face to face with the straight issue—Socialism *versus* Capitalism.

All this, of course, verges on the prophetic, and time only will show how far the forecast is correct. For the present, it is the soundest deduction that can be drawn from the facts as they exist. What has weakened the Labor Movement, politically, has been division in its ranks. The new combine promises to end this. There are two million Trade-Unionists in Great Britain; and as the total electorate is under six millions, it is evident that the Trade-Unionists alone could upset every calculation of the political managers. This force, allied to the earnest, militant spirit of Socialism, and finding allies in the Radical and Irish movements, would prove irresistible, were it but conscious of its own strength; and it looks as if that consciousness were slowly, yet surely, developing.

J. Keir Hardie.

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TEXAS, PAST AND PRESENT.

Of all the States in the Union, Texas is the largest in area and the most remote from eastern influences. It has an area of 265,780 square miles, or about one-twelfth that of the United States. Its magnitude will be better appreciated when it is remembered that to the combined area of the New England States, Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland, New Jersey, Delaware, and the District of Columbia, the areas of Ohio and Kentucky must be added to equal it. Its extent is about that of France. Its length and breadth are nearly the same, the former being 760 miles, and the latter, along the thirty-second parallel, about 740 miles. By rail, these distances are 900 miles, or the same as from New York to Savannah, Atlanta, Chattanooga, Chicago, or Labrador. Its length is one-half that of our country from north to south, and its width more than one-half that of the southern border of the United States between the Atlantic and the Pacific—equal to one-third the distance across the widest portion of the country.

In respect to location and natural conditions Texas does not fit exactly into any one of the ordinary classifications of States. It is southern; Florida excepted, it is the most southern of all States in geographic position. It is central, for it is one of the great tier that exactly forms the central strip of the Union. It is a Gulf State, and has one-fourth the shore line of the Gulf of Mexico. It is a western State, for large areas of both the Great Plains and the Cordilleran regions are included in it, while its far western corner is nearer the Pacific than the Atlantic, and has the climatic features of the former rather than of the latter. Hence, it may be said that Texas is southern, central, and western, in relative position and interests. And not only do its parts present the geographic features of the larger divisions of the United States already mentioned, but there are areas typical of the adjacent Republic of Mexico, such as the northern end of the Tierra Caliente, at the mouth of the Rio Grande.

No other State in the Union has had so many historical associations

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or so many vicissitudes of reconstructive government. During the one hundred years since the American revolution, which brought political stability to the Eastern States, the flags of five nations have flown over Texas, to wit: Spain, Mexico, the Texas Republic, the United States, and the Southern Confederacy. It is the proud boast of the State that no shadow of repudiation or defalcation has ever marred its financial record; that lawlessness has always been suppressed, whatever the cost; and that its public men, in both State and national affairs, have been above taint of dishonest influences or corrupt practices.

In constitution and government, and in the spirit and practice of its people, Texas is the most democratic of all American commonwealths. The spirit of Texas democracy, as expressed in the inaugural address of one of her former Governors, is that of a "political faith that holds to a plain, simple government, with severe limitations upon delegated powers, honestly and frugally administered, limiting the domain of its authority in the social compact to the preservation of public order and the administration of justice, with the view of protecting every real and substantive right, leaving all else to the unfettered enterprise of the citizen."

Let us briefly review the political and economic history of Texas since 1880. During the last two decades the State has made great strides in all matters pertaining to its material welfare, and has experienced a period of popular agitation and legislative enactment, incident to the social and industrial changes, hardly second in interest to any in her varied history. At the time mentioned fifteen years had passed since the close of the Civil War, during which the State had quadrupled in population and in wealth, and had recovered from the unhappy vicissitudes of reconstruction.

But, while the State was passing from the condition of a thinly settled commonwealth to that of a populous State, many industrial and corporate problems came into being for which no adequate legislation had been provided. Until 1880 settlement was confined almost entirely to the eastern half of Texas, where individual planting and pastoral pursuits were the chief occupations. Mining and manufacturing were hardly known; the systems of transportation were entirely inadequate; and no proper provision for education had been made. For three hundred years the Comanche and other Indian tribes held back the frontier line. The conquest of these in 1874, and the completion of the Pacific roads in 1882, opened the greater west-

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ern half of the State to settlement. Since the latter year, what had been a vast and unexplored wilderness has been occupied by thousands of farmers and stockmen, and every acre has been placed under fence.

In 1880 the State was still distributing its public domain with lavish hand to settlers, educational institutions, and railways, and as rewards for services. Originally this domain consisted of a tenth of the entire area of the United States; but later, upon the entrance of Texas into the Union, it was reduced to a twelfth, by the cession of New Mexico. Immigration was invited and induced by every means; and there was little expectation that the vast landed legacy of the Texas Republic would soon be disposed of, or that within two decades the valuation of the land so generously distributed would increase from two to a hundred fold.

Broadly speaking, the public domain has been entirely expended, with the exception of some 40,000,000 acres still owned by the commonwealth in trust for the public schools, the University, and other State institutions. In 1880 the railroads were in the eastern third of the State only, and aggregated hardly 500 miles. There were practically no constructed public highways, and no laws for making them. Although generally considered a prairie State, Texas possessed 64,000 square miles of woodland, the largest area of the kind in any American commonwealth. In 1880 the modern lumbering industry was unknown in Texas. There were only a few saw-mills for local supply, and mining and manufacturing were undeveloped. The school system was primitive: the scholastic year was only four months in duration, and the attendance was limited to pupils between eight and fourteen years of age. The University and other institutions of higher education had not been organized.

Since 1880 the population has increased from a million and a half to three millions and a half. Yet, in spite of this rapid growth in population, Texas is still the least densely settled of all the States east of the Rocky Mountains, with the exception of Florida and the Dakotas, and has as yet attained only slightly over a third the average density of the entire population of the Union.

There are three racial elements in Texas—the white, the negro, and the Indian. The negro race is largely confined to the eastern third; the Mexican Indian population forms a large element in the southern counties, along the Rio Grande. The white people constitute the ruling and preponderating class. The negro and Mexican, racially and numerically inferior, have at no time assumed a dominant

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position in government affairs. These races have been treated justly and considerately, and their rights have been protected.

Besides the larger element of broad-spirited and well-educated citizens, there have been three peculiar provincial elements among the white people: (1) the old Texan class; (2) recent immigrants, mostly from the Southern cotton belt; and (3) many foreigners, principally of German birth. The old Texan element consisted of a sturdy and independent rural population, mostly stockmen and planters, instilled with a love of freedom from over-crowding. Although some were illiterate, they had acquired a degree of wisdom by frontier experiences, while many were men of broad culture and knowledge. They were patriotically united by a heritage of historic deeds, were strongly democratic in their ideas, and many of them looked with disfavor upon the occupation of their demesne by railroads, and the concomitant evil of the rapid influx of a miscellaneous population. The second class, although including men of culture and means, also contained many of the illiterate, low white class who, through advantages of cheap railway immigration rates, poured into the State. The foreign-born element have been industrious and acquisitive, and have been readily assimilated into the political organization.

The railway mileage has increased since 1880 from less than a thousand to nearly 10,000 miles, a mileage exceeded by only one State —Illinois. In 1880 vast trunk lines were initiated to connect the State with the north and east, and to stretch across the western half of the State to the Rocky Mountain region and the Pacific Ocean. Eight trunk lines of the first character and three of the second now exist. The latter are the Southern Pacific, which closely follows the Rio Grande, the Texas Pacific, which runs westward through the heart of the State, and the Fort Worth and Denver, which follows the Red River northwestward to Colorado. Meanwhile thousands of additional miles of railway were constructed in the eastern half of the State. The total mileage in 1899 was 9,702; the average indebtedness per mile, $38,267; total earnings, $45,334,191.74; operating expenses, 71.73 per cent, or $32,518,118.18; net earnings, 3.48 per cent.

The growth of agricultural and pastoral production has been enormous. Prior to 1880 the lack of transportation restricted the acreage of cotton to a few eastern counties. Since then the State has become the largest cotton-producing area in the world. The quantity of its annual crop exceeds that of any three of the other cotton

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States, and constitutes one-fourth of the world's visible product of that great staple. In the great export products of cotton, cattle, and horses Texas now ranks first; fourth in sheep and wool; eighth in corn. Wheat and other small grains are extensively grown. The annual value of the staple products of the soil and farm, not counting small fruits and vegetables, aggregates $290,000,000, or as much as the entire mineral product of the United States, excepting Alaska. The lumbering industry has increased to a vast extent, greater than that of the State of Washington; and its product has been widely distributed.

Texas also has valuable mineral resources. It was not until 1889 that the State passed a law permitting mineral claims to be located upon public lands by individuals; hence the development of the metallic minerals has been backward. Coal mining has steadily increased. Lignite, beds of which formerly remained unused, is also mined in quantities. Salt, twenty years ago entirely supplied by Europe, is now exported. The vast beds of gypsum in the northwest are being operated; rich fields of cinnabar have recently been opened in the Trans Pecos Province; while structural materials, such as granite, marble, cement, and brick clay, are growing in importance. Oil fields have also been developed: seven barrels were produced in 1898 for one in 1897. The total value of the mineral products for 1899 was over $3,100,000. Manufacturing in Texas has not yet attained material proportions, and the great opportunities of the next decade will lie along this line.

The progress in educational matters within the last twenty years has been great. Whatever criticism may be made upon the political history of Texas, the loyalty to the public-school system has been unquestioned. The public schools have been organized from chaos into a good system. State, county, and municipal superintendence have been created; the standard and pay of teachers have been raised; the public-school fund has been augmented; and vacation normal institutions have been organized. The scholastic age has been extended; and the number of teachers increased.

During Governor Ross's administration (1887–1891) provision for superintendents of county schools was first made. The twenty-first Legislature passed laws providing for the sale and lease of lands belonging to the school funds, thereby greatly increasing the revenues. The twenty-second Legislature authorized a popular vote upon amendments to the Constitution permitting the Legislature to add one per

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cent annually of the permanent school fund to the available school fund. The permanent school fund consists of 30,000,000 acres of land, in addition to cash and bonds. In 1894 it was $2,162,600; by 1899 it had increased to $6,447.247.05. The available annual school fund in 1899—the revenues from taxes and from the sale and lease of lands—amounted to $3,232,624.27. In 1895–96, as many as 616,-568 children—or 20.70 per cent of the population—were enrolled in the public schools, a greater proportion than that shown by twenty-seven other States, including all the North Atlantic States, where the enrollment equalled 17.77 per cent only. The number of teachers employed was 13,217. In 1894, of the children instructed 472,963 were white and 157,340 were colored.

The last twenty years have witnessed the organization of many higher institutions of learning, including normal colleges for both white and colored teachers, a State Agricultural and Mechanical College, a State University, and many denominational colleges. Although provided for and endowed by the fathers of the Texas Republic, the State University was not organized until 1884. It is under the government of a board of regents nominated by the Governor. The main institution, located at Austin, is the head of the State public-school system, and admits students without entrance examination from some seventy-five approved high schools, the State Normal School, and the Agricultural and Mechanical College. Both sexes are admitted on equal terms.

The first decade of the university was a struggle against popular prejudice and dissension within the faculty, largely due to the fact that in its original organization no provision was made for a president. Within the last few years there has been a president, and the faculty has increased from ten professors and instructors to forty-eight in the main University. There are thirty-one in the Medical College.

There has been improvement in charitable and corrective institutions. The prison system has been placed entirely under State control, and its affairs are conducted upon a more humane and economic basis. During Governor Ross's administration an institution was erected for colored dependents at Austin. Provision was also made for a reformatory for youthful penal offenders, which was afterward constructed at Gatesville. The twenty-first Legislature provided for a third insane asylum, to be located west of the Colorado. It was built near San Antonio.

The final act of Governor Ross's administration (1891) recom-

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mended that some provision be made for the indigent ex-Confederate veterans living in Texas. Nearly one-half the surviving Confederate soldiers of the Civil War are now living in the State. "They are rapidly passing away," said Governor Ross, "some of them in destitution, notwithstanding the splendid provision made by the United States for the care of its old soldiers; and almost all the Northern States have supplemented these charities by the establishment of State Homes in addition. Surely Texas ought to afford one home; for the old soldiers of the Confederacy can look nowhere for help save to their State." A home for dependent Confederate soldiers was established at Austin, in which about one hundred unfortunates took refuge. A legislative act passed in 1899 provides for a biennial appropriation of $250,000 to be applied to the relief of other indigent Confederate soldiers.

The material progress of the State and the approximate value of its property are shown by figures from the assessment rolls. The true value probably exceeds the assessment value by some 40 per cent. The total valuation of the assessed property for 1886 was $630,591,-029; in 1891 it was $856,202,283; in 1894, $860,910,567; and in 1899, $921,927,231.

Taxation is limited by the Constitution to thirty-five cents on the $100, and the county and city taxes to twenty-five cents. To the credit of the State, and notwithstanding the enormous growth of wealth and population, the taxes and cost of administration have not increased. The revenues of the State in 1886 from all sources were $2,916,488.91; in 1895, $2,125,022.05, and in 1899, $2,700,-000. There was a cash balance of $1,092,807 in the treasury above all expenses in 1899. Texas has a bonded debt of not quite $4,000,000. Of this sum the State held $2,405,610 as a fund for its various institutions, only $756,990 being in the hands of individuals. The contract rate of interest has been reduced from a maximum of 12 per cent to 10 per cent, and the legal rate from 8 to 6 per cent. In 1899 there were 194 national banks in Texas, which, on September 20 of that year, had loans and discounts amounting to $46,024,782. There are also numerous private banks.

The cities and towns have advanced steadily in population and development. No statistics are obtainable since 1890. The Legislature has wisely placed restrictions upon municipal extravagance. During the twenty-second Legislature there were applications from several cities and towns for the amendment of their charters. The

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Governor vetoed several bills of this character. The twenty-third Legislature also passed an act to prevent an excessive issue of bonds by cities and towns, and gave to the State regulation and control of the issuance of municipal bonds.

Among the most notable elements of commercial and municipal growth has been the procurement of deep water in the harbor of Galveston. Formerly the depth over the bar was only thirteen feet, and ocean vessels could not approach the city. The national government expended $6,000,000 upon a system of jetties, and increased the depth from thirteen to twenty-six feet. The clearances of the port have since grown to great proportions. The importance of Galveston as a seaport is shown by the fact that its imports increased from $1,157,370 in 1885 to $3,000,000 in 1899, and its exports from $12,680,000 in 1885 to $78,480,000 in 1899. Four hundred and sixty-eight steam vessels, with an aggregate of 833,497 tons, cleared from Galveston for foreign ports during the year ending June 30, 1899.

The political history of Texas since 1883 has been of great interest, inasmuch as the period since then has witnessed some remarkable and exciting contests and issues. The Governor is chosen for a term of two years, and by popular custom is usually elected for two terms. There is practically but one party in Texas—the Democratic—and all questions of policy and the nominee for office are determined by popular primaries and State conventions.

From 1883 to 1887 the Gubernatorial chair was filled by O. M. Roberts, popularly known as the "Old Alcalde," who had been elected practically without opposition. He had been a citizen since the days of the Republic, and had occupied every important position in the judiciary. He was shrewd and skilful in politics, and possessed an unusual acumen and sagacity. He was the idol of the old Texan element, and was worshipped by the agricultural classes, whom he had apotheosized by a favorite maxim that "civilization began and ended with the plow." During Governor Roberts's administration the University was founded, the State Capitol contracted for, and the present school system initiated. He saw the approaching tendency toward State and municipal extravagance, and instituted an economic policy of "pay as you go," whereby the State's finances were placed upon a permanent and solid foundation. He left a surplus of $3,000,000 in the Treasury. Opposed to him was the so-called progressive element, which increased in later years, whose slogan was, "Turn

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Texas loose," meaning thereby the encouragement of corporations and of credit.

In January, 1887, L. S. Ross was inaugurated as Governor. He was the last survivor of the "old Texans" to occupy the chair. His four years' administration was the culmination of the golden era of Texas prosperity, which paid unusual tribute to every trade and profession. Agricultural and pastoral products were enormously profitable; the people had begun industrial development; geological researches were initiated; and railways showed immense improvement in mileage profit. The main policies of the State administration were removed from the commotion of politics, and extremely liberal provisions attracted a great tide of immigration. The taxable values of the State increased over $100,000,000 in two years and augmented the permanent school fund over $400,000 and its annual revenues $450,000 from the sale and lease of lands.

The fiscal affairs of the educational departments were put upon a cash paying basis, and there was a cash balance of $275,000 in the Treasury awaiting investment for the school fund. The length of the scholastic year was increased. Public order was improved; crime being reduced over forty per cent, as shown by the reports of the county officials. Public and charitable institutions were greatly enlarged, and new ones established. The Capitol building was constructed. The penitentiary system, with an immense business, was made self-supporting. The University and its branches were benefited by loans and appropriations amounting to $237,000. The indemnity claims against the United States were adjusted, resulting in the collection for the State of $1,072,000. The rate of taxation became lower than had been known since the Civil War. Every claim against the public Treasury was met, and there was a cash balance of $772,889 to the credit of the general revenue account, besides enormous funds for the State endowed institutions. So great was the financial prosperity of Texas at this time that on April 16, 1888, a special session of the Legislature was convened to provide for the proper distribution of the surplus money in the State Treasury.

In 1890, J. S. Hogg was elected Governor by an overwhelming majority to succeed Governor Ross. Governor Hogg was a young man, a strong provincial character, learned in the law, and aggressive in action. He had been the State's Attorney-General during Governor Ross's administration, and had closely studied the rights of corporations. Immediately upon his inauguration he recommended the

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passage of the following measures by the Legislature: (1) To create a railway commission; (2) to prohibit corporate monopolies and perpetuities; and (3) to require railways in the State to provide separate coaches for white and colored passengers. All these measures were passed. He then began a rigid prosecution of the railway and other corporations defying the laws of the State and the rights of the people. This policy created bitter antagonism on the part of the interests affected.

The State campaign of 1892, when Governor Hogg stood for reëlection, was in many respects the most bitter gubernatorial election Texas ever witnessed, and the only closely contested one. For the first time in its history the Democratic party divided into factions, and, besides, the Populist party had grown to large numbers. Governor Hogg's chief opponent was Judge George Clark, an independent Democrat, who took issue with most of the prominent measures of Governor Hogg's administration relating to railroads, alien land ownership, and restrictions upon municipal corporations. He contended that the Governor's policy would result in crippling local development, in deterring immigration, and in preventing the ingress of needed capital into the State. Popular feeling at times rose to a high pitch of partisan fury. In his manifesto, Governor Hogg reaffirmed his support of the Railroad Commission, and of the enactment of laws to restrict and prohibit the watering of stocks and bonds by railroad companies; and he reiterated his opposition to extravagant issues of bonds by cities and towns. He also favored a law to define perpetuities, to prohibit the further operation of land corporations in the State, and to require present holders of lands, by title or possession, to dispose of the same within such reasonable time as would not impair their vested rights.

A bold and important act of Governor Hogg's second term was the veto of a bill, passed by the Legislature, which empowered the Superintendent of the State penitentiaries of Texas to receive from the Treasurer of the United States, in the name of the State of Texas, the bounty on sugar raised and manufactured on the State penitentiary convict farms in Texas. He thought it did not comport with the dignity of the State to apply for a license to follow a business, and to submit to its supervision by the Federal government; and he considered it a dangerous precedent.

Governor Hogg retired from office in 1893; and in reviewing his career and the laws passed at his instigation, he said:

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"No State in the Union has better laws than these, and the people in Texas will in due time appreciate them and hold their senators and representatives in grateful remembrance for their passage. We may hope for honesty in all classes of public securities, and to see corporate land monopoly pass from the dominions of our State. As a Texan I am proud of these laws."

The dissensions within the Democratic party having been harmonized, the campaign of 1894 was principally between C. A. Culberson, Democrat, and Thomas L. Nugent, Populist; and it resulted in the election of the former. Governor Culberson was a young man of discretion and ability; and his administration was largely devoted to rounding out and completing the legislation of the previous administrations, with which he had been intimately connected as Attorney General of the State. One of the first measures of his administration was to provide against certain threatened financial embarrassments. He strenuously insisted upon a reduction of expenses, and recommended an increase in the *ad valorem* and school tax, as well as a tax on insurance and express companies, proportioned to their business.

A sensational incident during Culberson's administration was the calling of a special session of the Legislature to prevent a prize-fight within the State. The laws against prize-fights were imperfect, and the judiciary decided that there was no law against prize-fighting in Texas. At the call of the Governor the Legislature met on October 1, 1895, and, to the credit of the State and its government, passed a law prohibiting such fights.

At the State election in 1898 the Democratic party again united, and Joseph D. Sayers, who had faithfully served the State for many years in Congress as chairman and member of the Committee on Appropriations, was elected Governor. He represented the conservative democracy; and his choice betokened the union of the conflicting elements and a return to the peaceful conditions of former years.

The epoch between the administrations of Governors Ross and Sayers might be appropriately known as the *Sturm-und-Drang* period of Texan politics, during which there was a strong fight between the people and the corporations. With the exhaustion of its public domain, the introduction of steam transportation, and the closer competition resulting from readjusted conditions, many large corporations began operations in Texas, for the rights and practices of which as public franchises there existed no adequate legislation. The change from individual to corporate management was rapid. Many corporations, especially some of the railway companies, had received

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vast grants from the State, and all exhibited a tendency to encroach upon the established customs of the people.

The constitution and laws of the State were framed at a time when the rapid and sudden industrial development of the last decades of the nineteenth century could not have been anticipated; and they were inadequate for the regulation and control of public franchises. Certain features of the civil laws of Spain had remained a part of the Texan code. These exerted an influence over legislative and judicial decisions; and, although especially important in their bearing upon the land systems and titles, they made no provision for the modern system of trusts and corporations. Hence, there was much need of legislation, both to perfect the body of laws necessary to the proper government and protection of the rights of a continually growing population with wide diversification of interests, and to meet the change of condition from a pastoral to an industrial civilization.

This legislation, and the discussion incident thereto, created a period of violent political antagonism, and resulted in a long warfare, carried out upon the political rostrum, in the legislative halls, and in the State and Federal courts. Many laws were enacted, especially those regulating railroads, those against alien ownership of lands, and those for the regulation of trusts. Suits were instituted in the courts to recover property illegally held by corporations, and in some instances millions of dollars reverted to the State Treasury.

The first indication of industrial transition was a spirit of unrest, noticeable among the agricultural population, which grew until it ultimately monopolized the entire political attention of the State; giving rise to important legislative action, and to questions which eventually required decision by the Supreme Court of the United States. The first grave manifestation of discontent was the so-called "Free Grass" movement, which resulted from the invention and introduction of the barbed wire fence. It has been said that just when the condition of the country needed it most the barbed wire made its appearance. From its cheapness and durability this material facilitated rapid movement in all the prairie portion of the State and, next to the introduction of railroads, did most to develop the agricultural and pastoral pursuits. But the rural and pastoral population had held that all the unfenced land was public commons. With the coming of barbed wire all the lands were rapidly enclosed, and thousands of settlers found themselves without pasturage. The feeling against the fencing in of the lands was aggravated by the fact that many

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companies and corporations fenced in with their large pastures some lands to which they had no vested rights. This feeling gave way to violence, and lawless mobs known as "Fence Cutters" destroyed thousands of miles of fence. Order was, however, soon restored by the Executive, and many laws were enacted to protect public rights.

The unusual interest in politics shown among the farmers and other laboring classes also resulted in the beginning of several organizations. Among these was a secret society known as the Farmers' Alliance, which originated in a meeting of a few neighbors in Pleasant Valley, Lampasas County, in February, 1878. In 1886 this organization had a membership of from 75,000 to 100,000 in Texas, and a million in the United States. During Governor Ross's administration the Farmers' Alliance was active in politics because of the general belief that the railroad charges for freight were exorbitant, and antagonism toward the railroad interests was intensified. This agitation ultimately extended to all kinds of trusts and corporations; and, being taken up by the dominant political party, under the leadership of Governor Hogg, it overwhelmed all other subjects of consideration.

The State Democratic Convention of 1886 denounced the unlawful interference with corporate or private property; declared against foreign capital acquiring and controlling railroads in the State, and demanded that railroad companies should maintain their general offices within the State. In January, 1887, Governor L. S. Ross, in his inaugural address to the legislature, stated that "no legislature was probably confronted by graver responsibilities, and that those who considered the want of homogeneity in the population of Texas, the character of its industrial pursuits, business enterprises, and social sympathies, were aware of the fact that it presented questions vastly more complicated and embarrassing than any other State." By 1890 the whole political attention of the State was concentrated upon the questions involving the rights and limitations of railways and other corporations; and a gubernatorial campaign was made in that year upon a question propounded by the successful candidate, Governor James S. Hogg; namely, Shall the people or the corporations rule the State of Texas?

The grievances of the people against the railways were in most cases just. The management of corporations chartered by the people had lost all local character and sympathy by consolidation with great systems having their management beyond the legal jurisdiction of the State. The roads were not operated for the convenience or benefit

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of the people. Local charges were high and unjust, and were sustained by pools and combinations. The stocks of the railways had been watered beyond all proportion to their true value, in violation of the State Constitution. By this process the railroads of Texas acquired a tremendous and fictitious capitalization, upon which interest had to be paid out of the charges wrung from the people. Furthermore, these corporations avoided payment of their share of taxation. The corrupt practices of the railway corporations were exposed by the action of the twenty-second Legislature, which adopted a concurrent resolution to investigate the case of Jay Gould against the International and Great Northern Railroad Company. The committee appointed to examine into the case made a report that gave much information about the manipulation of railroads which had been placed in the hands of receivers, still further arousing popular indignation.

At first the railroads defied State control, claiming that their franchises were in the nature of private property, whose profits could not be materially affected by any regulation of the Legislature; and they made powerful combinations in the nature of pools to prevent the rates of tariff from being made lower by one of them in competition with the others. That the State had the power of limited control over railways had already been shown by the validity of a law passed during the administration of Governor Roberts, reducing the passenger fare from five cents to three cents per mile, and by an act passed by the twenty-first Legislature, requiring railway companies to provide separate coaches for white and colored passengers.

The twenty-first Legislature submitted to the people an amendment to the Constitution providing for a State Railroad Commission. This became a law by the election of 1890. At the head of this commission was placed the Hon. John H. Reagan, who resigned his place in the United States Senate to accept the position. The work of the commission has been of incalculable value; and those who were its most violent opponents now testify to the fact that it has saved millions of dollars to the State, and has brought the transportation system of Texas out of chaos into order, and made it profitable. The twenty-third Legislature, in 1893, passed a law giving the State supervision and control over the issue of stocks, bonds, and other securities by railroad companies, and to prevent illegal or injurious increase of their indebtedness by watering stock or bonds, so that the Railroad Commission might justly fix freight rates with reference to the value and expenses of the roads.

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In addition to their regulation by the Commission, the railways were further made to comply with the laws of the State, and to make restitution for past offences through a series of suits in the Federal courts, instituted by Governor Hogg. Companies were compelled to bring back their principal offices and officials into the State from other States to which they had been removed. Other suits broke up the pooling that prevented competition in transportation. By suits against railroad companies for the recovery by the State of land which had been illegally obtained and held, 1,437,000 acres were restored to the public domain. Governor Hogg, in his address, called attention to the fact that over three millions of dollars were saved to the producers from traffic taxation alone, without diminishing the receipts of our transportation companies.

The second session of the twenty-second Legislature passed what was known as the Alien Land Law, providing that no aliens could own land in Texas, except present owners, those who might become inhabitants in good faith, and those who should acquire lands in the collection of debts. It also called for the sale of land in ten years by all persons who were not entitled to hold lands permanently, except that aliens could acquire lands by devise or inheritance, under the condition of selling them in ten years. This was a return to the policy established in the Constitution of the Republic of Texas, inherited from Mexico. This law was later held to be unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. The twenty-third Legislature, however, passed a modified Alien Land Act, providing that no private corporation, whose main purpose was ownership of land by purchase, lease, or otherwise, should thereafter be allowed to acquire land in the State; and it required that all such corporations then owning land must sell the same in fifteen years.

The twenty-first Legislature passed an act to define and punish conspiracies against trade by combinations and trusts, popularly known as the anti-trust law. Commercial corporations had become as arrogant and imposing in their extortions as the railways had been. As a result of this law Attorney-General Hogg instituted suits against illegal insurance companies, and stopped their business in the State. Suits were instituted against the Standard Oil Trust, which defied the State laws. The State laws were sustained by the United States Supreme Court in 1900; resulting in the temporary withdrawal of the Standard Oil Company from the State, and its return under legal conditions.

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In addition to the agitation concerning corporations many relatively interesting events have occurred. In August, 1887, the State was convulsed with the so-called Prohibition campaign, when an amendment to the Constitution was submitted to the people prohibiting the manufacture and sale of liquors in the State except for mechanical and scientific purposes. The moral question involved stirred up society, and great interest was manifested. The proposition was defeated by a vote of 220,627 against 129,270.

Parts of Texas have suffered many great natural disasters, such as drouths, storms, floods, and hurricanes. In May, 1899, the Brazos River rose unusually high; flooding the vast area of agricultural lands bordering it throughout the coastal plain. In 1900, a sudden rise of the Colorado, incidental to a cloudburst, caused the breaking of a costly and supposedly perfect dam, which the citizens of Austin had erected at a cost of more than a million dollars.

In 1888 the Legislature passed an act to provide for the settlement of the Greer County case. For a number of years Texas had claimed jurisdiction over many square miles of land lying in the southwest corner of Indian Territory, between the forks of the Red River, had issued patents to the land, had organized courts, and had constructed school houses and other public improvements. The contention hinged upon geographical and historical questions, concerning the main fork of the Red River, and whether the area was within the domain of Spanish occupation when Texas came into the Union. The Supreme Court eventually decided that Greer County belonged to the United States.

The new State Capitol building, commenced in March, 1885, and dedicated May 16, 1888, symbolized the transition from the old to the new conditions. This magnificent building of granite, modeled somewhat after the Capitol at Washington, is typically Texan in its immense proportions, in the materials of its construction, and in its commemoration of the early Texans, whose valor had acquired the 3,000,000 acres of land paid for its erection. Its conception also typifies the perpetual unity of the State for all time to come, and the intention to relinquish the right to divide it into four States, as provided by the treaty of annexation.

Although the financial, manufacturing, and educational interests of the Union are largely located in the East, other material interests and equal political power are distributed through the States of the West and South. Absorption in national and international affairs

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should not prevent citizens of the republic from occasionally reviewing the condition and doings of the component States, especially those which, from their remote situation, come but little within the scope of the metropolitan press, by which public opinion is so largely formulated. In this article the writer has endeavored to present a conspectus of the activities and economic conditions of a great outlying commonwealth, which, from its environment or provincialism, is but little known. He makes no undue claims of perfection for his State, nor does he deny the existence of natural deficiencies. That there is room for improvement in many lines of human activity cannot be denied. Great as has been the material progress, the State still owes much to its charitable, corrective, and educational institutions. The University deserves tenfold its present income, in order to occupy the position it merits; and the administration of our asylums and penal institutions should be placed beyond the pale of political interference. It is a matter of congratulation that Texas has passed through its period of economic revolution, and has reached such a position of stability that development along higher lines can be considered.

ROBERT T. HILL.

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TOLSTOY'S RUSSIA.

Russia and Tolstoy are magnetic names; and the unique appeal of the two lies in the way in which they are related to each other. It may be helpful, by way of introduction, to try to state some chief Russian characteristics as they appear, first, in Tolstoy's life, and, secondly, in his works; to indicate some aspects of Russian history of which Tolstoy has little to say; and, finally, to suggest what seems to me to be his chief value for the Western world.

The Count was born very near the geographic centre of European Russia, in the region where the gloomy forests begin to merge into the rich wheat lands of the South, in the year 1828—that is, seven years after the death of Napoleon, three years after the suppression of the ill-starred "Decembrist" revolt in St. Petersburg and the accession of Nicholas I., two years before the opening of the Liverpool-Manchester Railway, and four years before the first English Reform Act. Although many years have since elapsed, there has been but little change in the appearance of the poverty-stricken peasants, inhabiting, as they do, a country in which the industrial revolution has only just begun. Having lost his father, a military cypher, and his mother, a sweet creature of whom we catch glimpses in his early writings, before he was well out of the nursery, his precocious and morbid mind was from the first burdened with the inheritance of a decrepit aristocracy. Compare the environment of his childhood with that of the Southern States about the same time, and you realize how badly Russia has been injured by the success of the Tsars in repressing all independence and originality in the small noble class. Tolstoy is only one of many "repentant noblemen" in Russia—a singular phenomenon, due not simply to the strong strain of spirituality in the Slavic character, but also to the fact that under the autocratic régime aristocracy has no genuine *raison d'être* whatever. Under the military despotism of Nicholas I. public life offered no opportunity for an honest man. Criticism of the Government was crushed out unmercifully; and every sign of free intelligence brought down the heavy heel of the administration.

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After the many failures of '48 there was despair throughout Europe, but it was deepest of all in Russia. In society it was said that Adam Smith had been succeeded by the French quadrille. There have been many men of genius in the Empire during the second half of the century—great poets, novelists, critics, musicians, painters, economists, scientists—and few of them have escaped martyrdom. During all this time the sort of social and political activity which is the reasonable ambition of intelligent youth in the West has been absolutely impossible. Hence, Russia is the only European state in which an avowedly revolutionary movement is maintained, and in which anarchism is a widespread school of thought. Whatever we may think of the unlettered peasants, there is not, and never has been, any question about the capacity of the Russians of the educated class; yet they are as impotent in politics as the Ottoman Turk or the Asiatic native; and in the whole field of social endeavor and enterprise they are subject to the most brutal and stupid restrictions and penalties. It is impossible thus to cripple a great community without producing, even in the minds of its most capable members, all sorts of morbid developments.

Tolstoy was by birth over-sensitive and introspective; and all the circumstances of his youth—the hollow conditions of the society in which his guardians lived, and its helplessness under the autocratic reaction that led straight to the disasters of the Crimean War—helped to deepen these morbid traits. The terrible winter in Sebastopol cured him of the last trace of the military spirit of his fathers; and a short association with the literary coteries of the capital put an end to any ideas he may have had of pursuing an orthodox career. Reckless living did not bring oblivion; two hasty visits to Western Europe did not furnish any certain specific against his own ills and those of his stricken land. From the time of his leaving the university till far on in his married life he wandered in the arid wastes of materialistic scepticism. The "conversion," which Tolstoy himself would date twenty years later, really began, as we can now see, at the time of his marriage, in 1862. Settled finally on the paternal estate, among the *mujiks* whom he had always loved, the deeper interests of life began to grow within him. In "Anna Karenina" Levine says: "I am going to enrich medicine with a new term—the Labor Cure. It is a sovereign specific against nervous troubles." In over-laborious England the idea had been familiarized twenty years before by Carlyle; but I have no reason to suppose that Tolstoy

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was influenced by the stern sage of Craigenputtoch and Chelsea. Indeed, the historical anarchism which he worked out at such portentous length in "War and Peace" is the exact antithesis of the philosophy of "Heroes and Hero-Worship."

Tolstoy's "Labor Cure" sprang from the exigencies of his situation—the needs of a growing family, and of that larger peasant family which required sympathetic and skilled leadership more than ever after the Emancipation. It was, and is, directed rather to the idle rich than to the ignorant poor; and if, in his preaching, "work" has nearly always and exclusively meant agricultural labor, "bread-work," as he called it later on, we may remember that in his practice for the last forty years there has been a perfect balance of mental and manual activity. The period of his "discovery" of the "Labor Cure," which for him meant actually sharing the grinding toil of his field-hands, was the period in which he accomplished his largest and his finest imaginative productions. It was the time also when he carried out those quaint essays in anarchist schooling which are perhaps the most original contributions to practical pedagogy since Rousseau. He admitted their failure afterward in "My Confession"; the educational world has yet to learn their full value. For a short time, too, he was occupied as a district magistrate; he made studies in scientific agriculture; he was a model father and husband, and an enthusiastic sportsman. "Anna Karenina," which was completely published in 1876, won him not only a very high place among Russian literary artists, but a seat among the world's immortals.

Then came the shock of his "conversion." The artist, so far from respecting his laurels, had chosen the moment of supreme honor as the occasion of most utter self-abasement, *i. e.*, in Russian eyes. There were to be no more novels, no more plays; the master artist had "got religion." Henceforth there would be nothing for him but the Gospel. It is difficult for us to realize the effect of "My Confession" on the educated class in Russia, where praise was thus scorned and turned to naught, because it is difficult for us to realize a condition of society in which, for that class, religion has been so completely starved and persecuted out of existence by the allied powers of State and Church. In the early eighties the new nonconformist sects in Russia, like the Stundists and Dukhobortsi, were only just beginning to take the serious dimensions they have since reached. No one thought of the possibility of an effective religious revolt against the autocracy. Tolstoy himself never put such an idea into words. Yet he was very much in

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earnest. But the critics everywhere took him at his word, and managed to get the episode quite out of focus with the facts of the man's history and environment.

So you would gather to this day from the average essayist that there are really two Tolstoys—the artist, whose work was closed in 1876, and the preacher, who has since bored the world with dubious theology and an impossible moral code. If the Count had ceased his activities, say, in 1884—by which time his criticism of Greek orthodox theology, his reconstruction of the Gospels, and "My Religion," had been produced—it is to be feared that that false idea would have gone down into history. It is easy to get a truer view to-day. "The Death of Ivan Ilyitch," "The Kreutzer Sonata," "Master and Man," and the extraordinarily powerful story which is only now appearing, "Resurrection"—to name only a few of the works that have flowed from his fertile pen in the meantime—effectually dispose of the notion that art and religion are incompatible factors in the activity of genius. This does not indicate, by any means, that the "conversion" is a negligible quantity in Tolstoy's history. On the contrary, it is highly significant and characteristic. But it is not quite the "new fact" which his protestations would suggest to the superficial reader. It is new only in degree. The meeting with the peasant preacher, Sutayeff, in 1879, was just the spark which warmed his old faith in the *mujik* and in pure ethical motive forces to the burning point. It is a natural efflorescence in what has been truly called a New-Testament country. It was latent in his earliest writings; it sustained him in the disappointments of his country life; it broke forth in the person of Levine in his great novel. Now, at the meridian of fifty years, and in a fresh crisis in his country's development, a hunger fell upon him which neither art nor science nor the ordinary round of bodily toil could satisfy.

The life of a Tolstoy is not to be flattened out into the semblance of a map in which the course of every road and stream and coast-line is visible. Our knowledge of his inner development will never be more than fragmentary; at present it is very slight. But the coincidence of the acute period of his "conversion" with the acute period of the revolutionary movement, commonly but stupidly named "Nihilism," is too suggestive to be overlooked. The large towns of Russia were in a state of civil war. Official terrorism had provoked the most desperate campaign of vengeance that any country has witnessed during the nineteenth century.

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The prisons were full of political suspects and offenders; society echoed with stories of these horrible dens of filth, disease, and cruelty. The famous "Executive Committee," which decreed and carried out many of the most daring outrages of those terrible years, loomed large in the popular imagination. Though the peasantry made but little response, it was no mere vendetta of a few malcontents. A very large part of the educated class was in active revolt. Thousands of men and women, many of whom would have been honored leaders of thought and social activity in any free country, were swept away to Siberia, to die a dog's death there in the mines or among the half-savage natives of the sub-arctic zone. The very roots of moral order and progress were torn up; not a single ray of hope illuminated the future. Perturbation ruled, to the point of nightmare, in the minds of all intelligent observers, and most of all, perhaps, in the minds of those few elect who, like Tolstoy, while honestly unable to side with either party in this violent struggle, yet vainly groped about for a third line of action.

There is to be found at least one impulse toward the new departure marked by "My Confession." Some private troubles tended in the same direction; but, at any rate, till we have his own memoirs before us, I can but think that the general influence was the more important. I have ventured in another place to describe this apostle of Christian anarchism as "The Grand *Mujik*," because his qualities seem to me to be the qualities of the best Russian peasant type carried up to the point of genius. It is, if I see it aright, an untutored, irregular, persistent, volcanic genius; incapable of finished judicial self-expression; shrewd, naïve, impetuous, iridescent; immensely fertile and suggestive, incapable of trickery, sincere, and always responsive, amid its ceaseless tides of emotion, to certain fundamental moral interests and principles. Here stood Leo Tolstoy then, a hundred miles south of Moscow, between the country life he loved and the city life he hated, between the dumb millions in whom he had faith, and the handful of politicians whom he hardly knew but wholly distrusted.

Tolstoyism, as it has been elaborated during the subsequent years, is neither theology nor philosophy nor scholarship of any kind. It is a moral code as exacting as can be formulated by a sane and eminently practical man; yet it is simple enough for all to understand, and as inspiring and bracing as it is simple. Reason and Love—these are its two eternal pillars. The essence of Tolstoy's religion is

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a complete faith in the efficiency of these two immeasurable forces; its most striking characteristic, as compared with the arm-chair philosophies of the day, is its insistent association of faith and works, precept and practice. It appeals not to controversial tests, not to any appearance of "sweet reasonableness," but to actual trial in the rough and tumble of daily life; and it will accept no other judgment. Its great fault is that it is a purely personal ethic, based upon the very debatable supposition that the gravest social problems can be solved by individual goodness alone. Of the four leading propositions in which it results — Non-Resistance, Chastity, Industry, and International Fraternity — the first two have been indiscriminately attacked by critics who do not know that they are very characteristic fruit of the Russian soul and the Russian soil. I am by no means a Tolstoy *devoté;* and had I been born in Russia I should doubtless be suffering at this moment the pains of exile as a revolutionary propagandist. But there are modes of revolutionary activity which have yet to be fully tried, but which, when they are put to the test by the Russian people, may yield some astonishing results. The Irish "No-Rent" campaign collapsed because the Irish people are comparatively deficient in that capacity for dogged endurance which the *mujik* possesses in a very high degree; and if for "non-resistance" we read passive or moral resistance, possibilities arise which, as between a hundred million peasants and a hundred thousand officials, give ground for hoping that the last word of popular right has not yet been said. The failure of the Dukhobortsi — if such it can be called — was no worse than the failure of the conspirators of twenty years ago; and history records as many victories for liberty won at the martyr's stake as on the battlefield.

Tolstoy has escaped martyrdom, so far, just because he is the one person in the Empire whom the Tsar himself will not touch. That fact is eloquent testimony not only of his genius, which is universally admitted, but of the effectiveness and practicality of his teaching, which by foreign critics are very generally disputed. It is, indeed, one of the most remarkable spectacles in history, this immunity of the arch sedition-monger under the completest despotism of the time. Hardly a page that he has put forth in the last twenty years but has contained some scathing indictment of the falseness, the cruelty, of the social forms maintained by imperial authority around him. His contemporaries have to content themselves with indirect comments upon the diseases of public life, with veiled satire and allegorical fic-

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tion. Healone can say the plain truth without fear of the direst pen alties; and surely the surgeon's knife was never used so unsparingly. What the Censor forbids is secretly copied and passed from hand to hand throughout the land; and more than one self-appointed missionary has suffered imprisonment for zeal in this direction.

He has founded no sect, no school larger than the little group of troubled peasants who gather daily for advice and assistance under the "poor people's tree" at Tasnaya Polyana. A mere handful of men have followed the extreme lengths of his example in the renunciation of wealth, power, and luxury. It is only in spirit that his own household is united. He represents heaven, as P. A. Sergyenko puts it, while his wife, the excellent woman to whom the world owes so much, represents the earth. But it is this spirit of operative love, of unflinching sincerity and faithfulness to high ideals, not the particular application and precept, that is the essential thing.

Too much may be made of the material sacrifices which Leo Tolstoy has made. Actually he lives in assured comfort, though in perfect simplicity. He rides the horse and the bicycle, plays tennis, enjoys music, romps with children, even to-day, and, in brief, is physically and mentally a sane, highly vitalized personality, far removed from the narrowness of the Eastern ascetic. It is this sanity and grip of real things that make his example so powerful, his spirit so infectious. In the records of the last decade in Europe few finer episodes will be found than the aged writer's campaigns against famine, against religious persecution, against the flogging of peasants, and against militarism. No other modern teacher has had to contend with such a desperate environment; and no other has succeeded in giving such a splendid picture of love triumphant over the world.

Tolstoy and Tolstoyism are, in the first place, of Russia and for Russia. The man and his thought tower up, it is true, into a higher universal air; but they are firmly rooted in the soil of native character and circumstance. A two-days' sail down the Volga, or a long ride over the steppes, is the best possible introduction to the study either of Russian thought or of Russian history. Looking over these vast plains of rippling grass or unbroken snow, borne softly down the course of this mighty stream, past grim forest and smiling prairie, by little villages where labor still follows the most ancient models and comfort and culture are not, by brand-new modern factories, pioneers of the new capitalism, one begins to realize the truth and the falseness of the familiar contrasts between East and

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West; to realize how the Tsardom succeeded and how "Nihilism" failed; how the force which made this state may one day prove unable to sustain it; how large a field of experience our city-made prescriptions leave untouched. The immensity, and the appearance of monotony of the Russian landscape strike one in recalling the works of the great Russian artist.

War and Tolstoy's experience in it were responsible for three early novels—his largest, the immense panorama of "War and Peace," "The Cossacks," and the Sebastopol sketches. Another group is directly autobiographical. There is the series of distinctively religious volumes beginning with "My Confession." There are many booklets of popular fables, and papers on education. There are three or four dramas of personal development—especially "Anna Karenina," one of the world's great possessions, "Ivan Ilyitch," "Master and Man," and last, but certainly not least, "Resurrection." But the largest class is that of the stories, plays, and essays founded upon special social problems. He is one of the most prolific writers of this prolific century.

Tolstoy has written something like fifty full books and innumerable fragments. At first sight there is little variety of subject matter or scenery. Yet, what extraordinary variety there is, in fact, when we get below the surface, behind the scenery, to the play of character; what wonderful insight into the tragedy of the human soul! No other modern writer, Shakespeare himself only occasionally, gives me this sense of absolute knowledge of the secrets hidden away in the innermost chambers of the mind, and of absolute honesty in their exposure. This perennial interest in the depths of character and in the nice shades of conduct, this extreme honesty of speech, seem to me to be the most precious qualities of modern Russian literature. In giving us the rarest presentation of them Tolstoy reveals to us, so that he who runs may read, the genius of a people too long unknown and misrepresented, a people destined in the future to play a part in the world's history greater perhaps than any ardent Panslavist has dared to dream of.

For reformers in the West, Tolstoy is stimulating, not only by his marvellous power of depicting the drama of the inner life, but by his insistence upon the supreme importance of the moral factors in social evolution, the insufficiency of merely material progress. His attempt to formulate a moral dynamic is open to many criticisms; but it voices a hunger that is spreading and deepening in every

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country where machine industry and plutocracy are the governing conditions of the popular life. The comparative failure of purely economic Socialism confirms the impression that the people require the inspiration of a faith that would be at once more Utopian and more actual. Tolstoy rescues us from over-specialization. He demands that always and everywhere men should have a rounded conception of the ideal life. He belongs to the older generation of humanists who never learned, and were never required, to train themselves down to the level of technical education boards, county council committees, and schools of economics. They stood—Emerson, Carlyle, Mazzini, Ruskin—for morals as a whole, and especially for the union of ethics and economics. They were nearer to the great Revolution, for one thing; and Liberty, Equality, Fraternity always presented themselves to their minds as an inseparable tri-unity.

The English and American Tolstoyists who say there is practically no difference between Russian circumstances and those of England, and that the anti-state sentiment natural in Russia is equally proper here, are talking nonsense. But while we must utterly reject Tolstoy's doctrine of no-government, we may admit him to be on unassailable ground when he points out that the conception of a good state must precede its realization. His absorbing interest in the moral potentiality of the individual, in woman, in art, in the laborer, in the abolition of ruling castes, in established hypocrisies, and in prejudices and violence between nations, gives tremendous force to his appeal to thousands of men who cannot accept his particular deductions. After all, it is not very difficult to allow for the difference of environment. Russia is in many ways in the condition of France on the eve of the Revolution, and Tolstoy is even more demonstrably the product of environment than Rousseau.

In two details, I think, Tolstoy's teaching has even more pertinence to the English than it has to the Russian people. The first is his agrarianism—his demand that every healthy person shall do some hand labor, preferably on the land—his unbounded faith in the country life and the country people. The development of public ownership may remove some evils from our social structure; but will they do away with the bulk of them? The second point is Tolstoy's eloquent Internationalism. He sees, as some Englishmen and Americans are beginning to see, that empire is just the largest and most characteristic form which the great joint-stock company of capitalists, aristocrats, bureaucrats, and soldiers has taken in the last fifteen

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years, that at bottom imperialism is the same thing whether it has a Slavic or a Saxon name. He knows what war means by experience; and he exhibits militarism as the schooling of whole nations to mutual hatred, their perversion from domestic industry and reform to be the fighting serfs of small ruling classes who play with them as with pawns and chess-board. It is not a little significant that, after Tolstoy's own writings, the most effective indictment of militarism in our time has come from another Russian, the man who stands at the antipodes from Tolstoy in Russian life, the strongest monarch in the modern world, the young Tsar, Nicholas.

There is hope, in that fact alone, for Russia and for the world. And there are other grounds for hope in the dark Empire. It is true that free opinion and judgment are still punished there with Torquemadan rigor. Nicholas II., disappointing as he has been, is a great improvement over Nicholas I.; and he does not seem to be, as his father was, a despot by solemn conviction that God wills it so.

Of course, the real power lies, as ever, with the permanent officials. But the old Muscovites are dying out. The Pobyedonostzeffs did their worst during the last reign. Reaction has reached its high-water mark. Radicalism is making more rapid progress than ever before in the land of the Tsars. In the growing industrial centres of the West and North, among the ever-enlarging heretical communities of the South, and among the *intelligenzia* of the towns, forces are at work which no regimen of "buckshot and bayonets" can stay. While Tolstoy issues the challenging summons to a new Reformation in the heart of Russia, the voice of western humanism echoes back sympathy and encouragement, and the peoples of the East and the West shake hands in the dawn of a new century.

G. H. Perris.

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